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EW SERIES

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APRIL

1921

VOI XVII

NO 50

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR



RC 953

*Literary Supplement*

*Archaeological Section*

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1921

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## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, C.I.E. M.P.

THE attention of the House of Commons was directed on no fewer than five occasions soon after the opening of the present session, to a matter intimately connected with its right of interpellation in regard to Indian administration. Honourable members who have shown an interest in the operation of the Indian reforms scheme that may not unfairly be described as alert rather than sympathetic have been stirred to inquiry as to the recent appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal as one of the Ministers in the Punjab Government. There is no need here to discuss the fitness of that gentleman for the high and responsible office for which he has been chosen by the Governor of the Punjab. It was his fate—deservedly or not need not now be asked—to be tried by the Courts and sentenced to transportation and loss of property for the part he took in the Punjab troubles in 1919. He was pardoned after a short period of detention and Sir Edward Maclagan, with Mr. Harkishen Lal's record fully within his knowledge, nevertheless chose him as one of his Ministers. There are those who say that if the new Minister's case were reinvestigated it would present an appearance less forbidding than that which it bears in the House of Commons interrogatories. But I do not propose to enter into that part of the subject. The really interesting and

relevant point is the extent to which, under the new state of things that has been brought into existence by the Government of India Act of 1919, such a question as that put by Sir William Davison is permissible

Before that measure came into operation no such problem would have pressed for solution. There was formerly nothing about India that could not have been put into a question, and only reasons of State could have been pleaded in justification of a refusal to answer it. And this mainly because every act of the administration in India was subject to the control of the Secretary of State. The great consolidating Act of 1915 enacted that "the Secretary of State may, subject to the provisions of this Act, superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which relate to the government or revenues of India." The Act of 1919 has profoundly changed the relation of the Secretary of State to a wide area in the field of Indian administration. It not only introduced for the first time the Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils, but it gave the Governors unconditioned power to appoint these Ministers for the administration of transferred subjects. The power, as exercised in the case of this ministerial appointment in the Punjab, was so unconditioned that Mr Montagu, challenged to say whether the nomination of Mr Harkishen Lal was made without any suggestion from home or from the Government of India, replied "Of course it was. I never knew of the appointment until after it was made." It appears, therefore, that the intention of the Act to place the responsibility for the appointment of Ministers upon the Governors of provinces has in this instance been fully realized. But the pages of Hansard bear testimony to the fact that more than this was required to satisfy the anxieties of members who were perturbed by the fact that, as one of them phrased it, a recently convicted rebel had been appointed to a position of

trust under the Crown. To more than one of them it seemed as though all the rights of the House of Commons in relation to India were suddenly being obliterated by a revolutionary Secretary of State. A little determination to concentrate upon the matters really at issue might have saved the time of the House, and settled the whole question at a sitting. But it was not until the fifth day on which the subject appeared on the question-paper that the essential point was brought to the notice of the House. On that day Sir William Davison asked Mr. Montagu "whether Members of Parliament will be able to ascertain from the Secretary of State from time to time as to the manner in which the various provincial councils are dealing with matters entrusted to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferment of further responsibilities on such provincial councils." Here the honourable member was as certainly proceeding on right lines as he was proceeding on wrong ones when in his first question he asked the Secretary of State if he had personally approved of Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment, and what steps he proposed to take regarding it. For this was an invitation to Mr. Montagu to pass judgment and take action on a matter that was outside his competence. Questions on a matter of fact belong to a very different category, whether they fall within the functions of the Executive Councils, or whether they relate to transferred subjects. It is by them, and the answers to them that the House can build up the body of knowledge as to the progress of India in self-government which will enable it later on to judge whether the powers of its Legislatures and Ministers shall be enlarged. A member interested, to take one example, in female education in India would be free to ask as many questions as he chose on that subject. But they must not be questions of the fussy inquisitorial order, nor must they be put with the obvious purpose of passing censure on the

administration of this, a transferred subject, for which a Minister is responsible to the Legislative Council. There cannot, as Mr Ormsby-Gore pointed out, be two responsibilities in regard to a subject. The Minister, as the custodian of subjects which are handed over to the Legislative Councils for decision, cannot be responsible both to his own Legislature and to a Legislature six thousand miles away. In this respect Parliament has to divest itself of a right of intervention corresponding with that which the Secretary of State has given up under the Act of 1919. As the Joint Committee say in their report, the Secretary of State relaxes his power of direction and control, and to that extent also will the Government of India withdraw from intervention.

I do not see how anyone who desires that the constitutional reforms scheme shall have a fair trial, and recognizes that it is an essential principle of that scheme that the Indian Legislatures shall, within the limits of their competence, deal freely and responsibly with the matters entrusted to them, can either question or reject the Speaker's ruling. The Indian Legislative Councils have had a definite and carefully measured trust reposed in them. The area to which that trust applies is sharply marked off from another area, in which the executive councillors exercise their authority in unquestioned responsibility to Parliament. It would be an unwise, and might be a harmful, thing to obliterate even at a single point a line of demarcation which Parliament has drawn advisedly and with a firm hand. The recent interpellations and the Speaker's ruling upon them will, I imagine, be studied with the keenest interest in India, where the ruling will be interpreted as an assurance that the Diarchy will be allowed by Parliament to work under conditions favourable to the free development of the self-governing side of the new Constitution.

## THE INDIAN MEMORIAL AT BRIGHTON

By SIR JOHN OTTER

AT the beginning of the war it was the intention of the War Office to carry the wounded Indian soldiers from the front to hospitals at Marseilles and in Egypt, but it became necessary to relinquish that intention

Sir Walter Lawrence was then appointed chief commissioner of Indian hospitals, and instructed to find suitable buildings in this country. In pursuit of his quest he came to Brighton. There was no need to go farther. The Oriental character of the Royal Pavilion and Dome, the creatures of Nash's fertile, if fantastic, imagination, the beautiful surrounding gardens, the cheerfulness of the town, and the active patriotism of its inhabitants came in their sum near to satisfying an ideal standard of fitness. Sir Walter spoke, and Brighton cheerfully offered the use of her historic buildings the chief scene of her social and political activities.

Soon afterwards the municipal secondary schools and the Poor Law institution ("Kitchener Hospital") were added.

Indians of all races and creeds were admitted and the hospitals were administered with minute solicitude for the observation of the rules of custom and caste. There were nine kitchens at the Pavilion. The medical staff were amazed at the excellent recoveries made. Whether their efficiency was the cause, or the air of Brighton, or some psychological condition of the patients at the time, let others determine.

For the Hindus and Sikhs who died at Brighton a burning ghāt was prepared at a lonely spot on the Downs five miles away. The traditional funeral rites were strictly observed so far as means would allow. There was the

symbolic use of metals flowers, fruit, grain, and spices, the low chanting of Vedic hymns, the simple and primitive mode of burning on a great pile of wood in the open air. A strange and moving sight indeed to the few Englishmen who were admitted as spectators. The Muhammedans were buried with military honours at Woking in a section of the cemetery there, set apart for their dead.

When the Indian wounded soldiers had departed Brighton felt that she had passed through an experience of extraordinary interest. East and West had kissed within her borders. It seemed right that some visible monument should be raised in honour of India's faithful dead, and from the position which I happened to hold at the time I had the opportunity of making practical proposals. Mr Austen Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for India, and the Council of the Borough were most favourably disposed, and it was decided that the form of the monument should be that of a Chhatri to be erected on the site of the burning ghat.

By the co-operation of the Corporation and the India Office the necessary funds were provided.

Sir Swinton Jacob, the architect of many notable and beautiful buildings in India was consulted and under his supervision Mr E C Henriques, a brilliant young Indian architect (though bearing a European name) then completing his professional studies in London prepared the design and plans. Mr Henriques is now assistant architect in the Public Works Department of Bombay.

The Chhatri itself is of pure white Italian marble and in its form of a dome resting on eight pillars, with an octagonal base, conforms in general features to the customary type. It is placed on a platform reached by three flights of steps, which are built of English stone from quarries at Shepley and in the vicinity of York. On the level space immediately above the first flight of steps remain *in situ* the three concrete blocks on which the piles for the fires were raised, but these are now covered with slabs of granite, as the very rough state of the blocks would agree but ill with

the fine stone work contiguous. There are borders of delicate ornamental carving round the dome, and along the walls and balustrades, but kept subdued to give effect to the purpose of materializing the idea of dignified simplicity and strength. The height to the top of the dome is about 25 feet. In construction and feeling the memorial is purely Indian.

The inscription in English is

“To the memory of all the Indian soldiers who gave their lives for their King-Emperor in the Great War, this monument, erected on the site of the funeral pyre where the Hindus and Sikhs who died in hospital at Brighton passed through the fire, is in grateful admiration and brotherly affection dedicated”

There will be equivalent inscriptions in Hindi and Urdu. The memorial is under the care and guardianship of the Corporation of Brighton who are the legal owners. The importance of possessing a sufficient quantity of land round the Chhatri to preserve the amenities of the position was not at first justly estimated. An endeavour is now being made to supply this omission, but for this purpose the grace of private benefactions must be sought. Already sufficient money has been received to buy forty four acres. Of this area it is proposed to enclose two acres in the immediate vicinity of the Chhatri for a garden, to be laid out in an appropriate Indian manner, and planted with trees emblematic of life and death, time and eternity, the universal themes of Indian art.

The memorial being of a national character, H R H the Prince of Wales was pleased to consent to unveil and dedicate it on February 1 of this year. It was a notable event. Brighton has never seen such crowds in her streets as when the Prince drove from the railway station to Patcham Down. Certainly, whatever the function, he would have received a great demonstration of loyalty, but on this occasion there was something more in the cheers and other signs of welcome. There was an expression of a

sense of fitness in the part taken on that day by the heir to the Imperial Throne

As the Prince drove over the grass of the down (there is no made road up to the Chhatri) a salute to the dead of twenty-one guns was fired from the hillside across the valley. Many thousands were assembled round the Chhatri, a spot where a deep stillness generally reigns, and whence no habitation, save a humble cottage, is visible. The ceremony was short, simple, and impressive.

The Prince stood, facing south behind the middle block of the three on which the funeral pyres had been lit, on the east was the guard of honour, on the north the firing party and the buglers. At each of the four corners of the upper level on which the Chhatri rests stood a soldier with bowed head leaning on the butt end of his rifle.

It fell to my lot to make an introductory speech in which the purpose of those concerned in the promotion of the memorial was explained. Reference was made to the funeral rites significant to most Englishmen of a religion difficult to understand. 'But there is a religion underlying all religions. It is the consecration of the principles of justice, righteousness, mercy, goodwill towards men. It is the orientation towards the unseen Giver of life of our thoughts on those principles of conduct divinely implanted in mankind. Notwithstanding deep differences of faith and temperament between ourselves and our brethren in India, we can meet them here on ample common ground. Justice and goodwill to men! That is the cause which His Majesty the King-Emperor maintains as did King Edward VII and Queen Victoria before him, and in that strength and in its beneficent harmonizing influence will rest secure the Imperial Throne at Delhi. To day, from this bleak spot in this chilly island, Brighton sends its message to the millions on the burning plains and beautiful mountains of India, and Brighton aspires to speak in the name of the nation. Our message is that we honour their dead, slain in the bloody, cruel war which has scarred

the world, but which has freed it from the perils of an audacious ambition, that we bear towards them the feelings of a lively and sincere goodwill, that we sympathize with the desolate and bereaved in their sorrows. In token thereof is this monument set. We hope that it has some intrinsic beauty. We know it is not a work of magnificence. The sign is less than the thing signified. Your Royal Highness, by your presence here to-day, gives a value to the offering which it would be hard to over estimate. You lend wings to the message which we send to-day to India from the Sussex Downs."

This quotation may be permitted because it represents an endeavour to express the common feeling of the donors.

The Mayor then invited the Prince to unveil the Chhatri which was swathed in Union Jacks, and decorated with the Star of India. That done the Prince returned to his former place and delivered a speech. He said

'We are here met to dedicate a memorial to brave men, our fellow subjects, who after the fire and stress of Flanders, received the last sacred rites of their religion on this high eminence. It is befitting that we should remember, and that future generations should not forget, that our Indian comrades came when our need was highest, free men—voluntary soldiers—who were true to their salt—and gave their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their Sahibs, their Empire, and their King. It was a great adventure to them to leave home and a congenial climate, to pass over the Black Water, and to give all in a conflict of which the issues were to most of them strange and impersonal.'

'This monument marks, too another fact. When the wounded Indian soldiers were brought to England, there was no place ready for their reception. Your generous town came to the rescue, and, with a hospitality which will ever be remembered in India, gave not only her finest buildings, but gave also her friendship and respect to those

gallant men Brighton has erected this memorial to the Hindus and Sikhs who died in her beautiful hospitals, and has testified to the affection and admiration she felt for men who fought so gallantly and bore themselves so patiently and so nobly during the long months they lay by the sea, thinking of their village homes so far away

“ I can assure you, Mr Mayor, that India never forgets kindness and sympathy, and from this Chhatri a wave of goodwill will pass to India.’

He then referred to the gift by Indians to Brighton of a gateway to the Pavilion on the southern side as further evidence of a strengthening of the union between India and our country

Volleys were then fired and drums rolled “ The Last Post ” was sounded, followed by the “ Réveillé, ” and there the ceremony ended

## THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT TO INDIA

BY "DEWAN"

THERE were few among those who listened to H R H the Duke of Connaught's speech on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Council of State and of the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi, on February 9 1921, who were not greatly moved by it. The occasion was momentous—the speech was no less so—and it has had a softening influence almost impossible of conception before the event. It was no secret that one of the first acts contemplated by the newly formed Legislature was the reopening of the whole of the question of the Panjab troubles of 1919, with special reference to General Dyer and Jalianwala Bagh. To reopen the issue, and to begin again the bitter controversy between two contrary opinions, would have resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of enmity, vindictiveness, and mistrust which would have proved most difficult to eliminate afterwards. It would have meant the birth of an epoch amid almost the worst possible conditions. And it is in great measure due to His Royal Highness's tact, choice of words, and obvious deep feeling that we owe the non-realization of a regrettable beginning. The appeal went home, and found its echo a few days afterwards at the first meeting of the Assembly, when moderation and consideration ruled instead of acerbity, and the Assembly agreed unanimously 'to bury the hatchet'. The whole affair formed the crisis of the visit, and that it has passed so happily ensures the success of His Royal Highness's tour, and augurs well for the India of the future.

There are, of course, in India as elsewhere, a number of irreconcilables who see no good in anything but their own particular point of view. The non-co-operation movement was

hard at work in Delhi between February 7 and February 15, the various functions which took place were to be "boycotted" by the Delhi "crowd"—a mixed crowd at best, but still having a picturesque value at public and important functions. The extremist press, fearful of finding their teachings undermined, have increased their efforts to mar the success of the tour, for with the return of schoolboys gradually to their schools and colleges they find that the success of the non-co-operation programme is in danger of early disillusion. Of the transitory sympathy with Mr Gandhi's policy by the commercial population of many of the cities and towns there are some indications. That the sympathy is only transitory is equally sure. A negative policy of inaction is bound to fail in its object, and the only danger is that non-violence may change to violence, a spirit which the promoters of modern Indian unrest would be powerless to check.

Contrasted with His Royal Highness's popular reception in Delhi is the arrival of Mr Gandhi there towards the end of the visit. The whole city, apparently, turned out to meet him at the station and to do him honour, and he was the recipient of acclamations.

The Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi marked, again, the beginning of an epoch. For the first time the Princes of India sit formally together in one common council. Their deliberations do not extend to interference in the affairs of British India, but present-day advances have not left the States unaffected, and it is necessary to ensure their progress equally with that of the British districts which surround them. The Inauguration was a brilliant function, performed before the Dewan-i-Am in the Fort at Delhi. The members of the Chamber of Princes, in full State robes, sat in front of His Royal Highness, arranged territorially, while behind, tier above tier, arranged semicircularly, sat thousands who had received invitations to witness the ceremony. When the Inauguration was completed His Royal Highness met the Princes at tea in the gardens of the Fort, which are admirably suited to such a function.

The Victory March through London had its Indian counterpart at New Delhi on February 10, when the Duke of Connaught laid the foundation-stone of the All-India War Memorial. Colours of many regiments of the Indian Army formed three sides of a square around the site of the memorial, and when the speeches were over, each colour-party marched past His Royal Highness. The Imperial Service Troops were well represented by contingents, and the march past was closed by parties from the Leicestershire Regiment, Seaforth Highlanders, and Royal Irish Regiment. The inclusion of these three representative units in the ceremony was most appropriate to the occasion, and the whole scene will not soon be forgotten by those who were privileged to behold it. Two days later the Garden Party given by the Indian officers of the Indian Army was made an occasion for some happy speeches, and there is no doubt that the influence of His Royal Highness's presence amongst these representatives of the Army will have a beneficent effect upon the troops. Their stanchness during the unrest of the past three years has been deserving of high praise, and the honour done to the Indian officers by His Royal Highness, by his unceremonious chat with them in the gardens of the Fort, will be an earnest of Royal approval of their demeanour during times of peculiar difficulty.

The Delhi functions over, there was a brief interlude from public receptions and addresses when His Royal Highness visited Rawal Pindi to hold there a review of troops in the Northern Command—the most responsible of the four new Commands into which military India is divided. His reception there amongst the troops was one of cordial welcome, and should result in a strengthening of the bonds between the Throne and the fighting men of the Panjab. The Rawal Pindi district held the recruiting record for the Panjab during the war, and it was from that Province that the great majority of our Indian fighters were raised.

With the visit to Bombay, the Royal tour closed. There have been performed functions similar to those performed at Madras and Calcutta earlier in the tour, and the inauguration

of the Bombay Legislative Council completes the opening of all the Provincial, as well as the Imperial, Councils brought into being by the new Government of India Act

His Royal Highness's visit was assured in its success by his speech at the Inauguration of the Council of State at Delhi. With an atmosphere of maturity and vast experience, he brought with him to India a spirit of friendliness which is bound to have great influence for good. He has proved a successful foil against the rantings of extremism and discontent, and by his self-sacrifice and calmness he has proved a living example to the movers of non-co-operation of what they affirm that they strive to be. As a friend of India he came, as a friend of India he served, and now, as a friend of India, he finally leaves its shores. How valuable that friendship is only the future can show.

BOMBAY

*February 26*

## THE FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

*(Specially contributed)*

1 THE chequered history of the Indian peoples has seen few changes so momentous in character or so pregnant with future possibilities as those inaugurated by the Government of India Act of 1919. By that Act, and the Royal Proclamation of December 23, 1919, which supplies the keynote of the spirit in which its provisions are expected to be worked, there came into operation from January, 1921, the transitional period of probation, preparation, and training which has for its ultimate goal the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire."

2 The large administrative units of government in India are the Provinces, each with its own Legislature and Executive Council, primarily responsible for the administration of its own territories. Above these administrations, and exercising over them a control now considerably modified in character, is the Governor-General who is directly responsible to the Secretary of State for India for the government of India. Associated with this supreme Government is the Central Legislature, which, like most of the other bodies exercising legislative or executive authority, has undergone profound alteration in its constitution and its powers.

3 In the Governor's Provinces, which now cover the bulk of the Indian continent, the old system of executive government by officials nominated by the Crown, and responsible, in the ultimate resort, only to the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament, and of Legislatures in which the members elected by popular vote were in the minority, has been vitally modified. The controlling executive authority which conducts the work of the higher administration, is now dual in character. There is still the official section, appointed

by official nomination, responsible for the administration of certain "reserved" subjects, and answerable through the official hierarchy to the final and supreme authority—viz., the Parliament at Westminster. The other section of the executive body, however, consists of Ministers nominated by the provincial Governor from among the elected members of the Legislature. To these Ministers has been entrusted the control over certain important Departments classed as "transferred," as, for instance, Local Self-government, Medical Administration, Public Health, Education with certain reservations, Public Works, Agriculture, and Development of Industries. It is to the Legislature that the Minister must render an account of his stewardship, and the loss of its confidence means normally the loss of office. So far, therefore, as these "transferred" subjects are concerned, the Indian electorate has, for all practical purposes, now displaced the British as the final authority to which account must be rendered, though the Governor, whose duty it is to harmonize the working of the official and non-official sections of his Executive governing body, is armed with certain overriding powers. The Local Legislatures have now a preponderating elected majority and greatly enhanced powers of initiating legislation. It is however, the possession of the powerful weapon of voting, and hence also withholding, supplies subject though it is to the exercise of the Governor's extraordinary powers of veto in exceptional cases that emphasizes the principle of responsible government which is the keynote of the new reforms.

4 The Central Legislature consists of two Chambers, each having an elected majority and with considerable powers over Finance, but the principle of ministerial responsibility is as yet absent in the relations of these bodies with the Governor-General's Executive Council. This Council has, however, been somewhat enlarged, and of the present eight members three are now nominated Indians.

5 Responsible government has thus been definitely initiated for the first time in the history of the British administration in India, commencing in the Provinces, and with capacity for

extension there and application to the Central Government also. If the beginnings are subject to restrictions, there is the assured prospect that the proper exercise of the powers already conferred will lead India, at no very distant date, to a status analogous to that of the great self-governing Dominions. Already her growing importance has been recognized, not merely by her representation at War Conferences and in the Peace negotiations in Paris, but by her admission as a separate 'State' to the League of Nations. India has thus become, as was observed by *The Times* in reviewing the events of 1920 and the part taken by the Indian Delegation at the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva, an influential participant in the Councils of the World.

6 In recognition of her new position, which required that the Government of India should have a special representative of high status in London, and in preparation for the time when she will approximate to the status of the self-governing members of the Empire, a High Commissioner has been appointed for India from October 1, 1920. The first holder of this office is Sir William Meyer, G C I E, K C S I whose work for India has not merely been confined to the limits of India itself (where he has held some of the highest positions to which a Civil Servant of the Crown may attain, culminating with the Finance Membership of the Viceroy's Council), but has been of an international character—e.g., he represented the British and Indian Governments at the International Opium Conference at The Hague, and, more recently, India at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

7 When India arrives at a stage of self-government comparable with that of the Dominions, her High Commissioner will no doubt discharge, under the instructions of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, all functions which those Governments, then fully representative of the peoples of India, require to be carried out for them in London. For the present, however, and while the control of the Secretary of State for India over the Indian Governments still continues in large measure, the High Commissioner has been entrusted only

with those duties of an agency, as apart from a controlling, character which have hitherto been discharged by the Secretary of State on behalf of these Governments. The complete assumption of these functions will take some time, owing to the diversity and extent of their operation. The High Commissioner has already taken charge of the large Stores section, which is entrusted with the task of purchasing, on behalf of the Governments in India, material which cannot be bought in India. The value of these purchases, which are of the most varied character, averages in normal years between four and five million pounds sterling annually (it is at present much higher), and necessitates the maintenance of a highly organized staff for the selection, passing, packing and shipping of the goods purchased. To the High Commissioner also is entrusted the supervision of the organization which has been formed for the purpose of assisting and advising Indian students who come to this country for study. The Indian Trade Commissioner, who has for some years been conducting his operations in the United Kingdom and is charged with the duty of furthering Indian trade in England, is likewise under the High Commissioner's supervisory control, and the latter will shortly become responsible for the payment of all the allowances, pensions and annuities of the Civil Servants of the Indian Government residing temporarily or permanently in this country.

8 When the High Commissioner has relieved the Secretary of State for India of all his agency duties the latter will then have left to him only his political, administrative, and supervisory functions, which will be subject to gradual decrease as further powers are conferred on the Indian Governments Central and Provincial. And finally as above stated a time will come when the vast importance of India in the Imperial system of which the Great War accorded varied and striking illustrations will be crowned by her attainment of autonomy within the Empire. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner is responsible for the discharge of his duties to the Government of India and not to the Secretary of State, and has now office premises of his own at 42 and 44 Grosvenor Gardens, Victoria, S W.

## THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT FAMINE IN CHINA

BY J. P. DONOVAN

(Hon. Secretary China Famine Relief Fund)

**HISTORICAL**—Notwithstanding the fact that China is one of the most fertile countries in the world and her people extremely frugal and industrious famine through either floods or droughts recur with remarkable regularity. Every few years in some part of the Republic the population is decimated by such calamities. It has been estimated that the famines which occurred in 1810, 1811, 1846, and 1849 resulted in the death of forty-five millions. The victims who died from starvation owing to the famine of 1878 numbered between nine and thirteen millions. In 1892 and 1894 there was a famine through drought in the north-eastern provinces and Mongolia which caused many deaths. In 1900, the year of the Boxer Rebellion three-tenths of the population of Shensi died from starvation. There was a famine in the early part of 1911 in Anhui, Kiangsu, and Hupeh when it was stated that 600,000 families were actually starving, and of whom death claimed many victims. The province of Chihli was visited in 1917 by one of the worst inundations caused by exceptional rainfalls that had been known for centuries. Crops were either wholly or partially destroyed over an area of 12,000 square miles, and it was reported that about a million chien (rooms) of houses collapsed. It was estimated that the direct material loss of property was \$100,000,000 and some 2,000,000 people lost everything they possessed. The actual number who either died from starvation or were drowned will never be known.

The famine now raging in the five northern provinces of

China is greater and much more serious than any of the previous ones. The provinces affected are *Chihli*, area 115,000 square miles, population 30,172,092, *Honan*, area 68,000 square miles, population 30,831,909, *Shantung*, area 56,000 square miles, population 30,853,245, *Shansi*, area 82,000 square miles, population 11,080,827, and *Shensi*, area 75,000 square miles, population 9,465,558. It is very difficult to obtain accurate figures, but it has been estimated by those on the spot that some 40,000 square miles of the above five provinces have been affected by the prolonged drought, and that the sufferers number 40,000,000. It is feared that about half of that number are on the verge of starvation. The telegraphic message from the Peking correspondent of *The Times* on December 12, 1920, will give some faint idea of the severity of the disaster and the number in extreme need at that time.

"The population actually now totally destitute in Chihli is 8,000,000, in Shantung, 2,500,000, in Honan, 3,500,000, in Shensi, 1,000,000, in Shansi, 500,000—a total of 15,500,000. The total funds available are \$2,865,000 (£716,250), which amount is barely sufficient to save 500,000 until the spring harvest. The remaining 15,000,000 are inevitably condemned to death unless further aid is provided."

It is not easy for the human mind to grasp or the imagination to realize what it means when we speak of 15,000,000 people being on the verge of starvation. And the tragedy of the situation is that the part of China where there is such intense suffering has been called "The Garden of China," owing to its fertility and productiveness. During the late war, when there was a shortage of food in this country, a large amount of wheat flour imported from China was the produce of the districts that have been so barren for the past year. It was also from Chihli and Shantung that over 100,000 volunteers came, who, as the Chinese Labour Corps, released 150,000 of our men for active service during the late war. Over 1,000 of these Chinese coolies paid the supreme sacrifice.

**CAUSES OF THE FAMINE**—The soil of the regions which have been affected is what is known as loess, a geological formation

probably tertiary in its origin. Unlike the land south of the Yellow River, where rice is mostly cultivated, the soil is so productive owing to it being charged with decaying vegetable matter that in ordinary years the farmer reaps a harvest of two and sometimes three crops of wheat, millet, and other grains a year. This, however, is when the rain supply in summer and the snow in winter furnish the moisture the ground requires. During last summer and autumn no rain fell, the result being that in certain areas no crops were gathered during 1920, and in some parts there had been a total failure since the spring of 1919. In other parts the crops yielded from 15 per cent to 20 per cent while in others there was only reaped one-tenth of a crop. The reports state that the fields were so nude of vegetation that even the small birds and crows had deserted the famine-stricken districts. A journalist who had visited the regions, writing in *Asia* for March, says

I needed no farmer's eye to read the meaning of the fields. They were burnt sere and brown with bent shrivelled stalks that should have been millet wheat, corn and beans. These dry stalks represented what should have been food to last a country-side until spring but would not make even fuel. In trees near the villages were small, dark blotches—women and children stripping the branches of trees for a day's meal. In the fields were women and children painfully digging roots and weeds."

CONDITIONS.—The conditions of the victims of this awful famine are more easily imagined than described. The reports which have reached me during the last three months have been most harrowing and tragic. Let me give one or two extracts.

The present conditions are that people are living on food more or less mixed with chaff, husks, etc., according to their means. Ordinary people will use four-tenths of chaff, etc. Others are compelled to add so much and can afford so little flour that they can with difficulty make the stuff stick together for baking or steaming. It is keeping warm, so that there is still a lot to be got off the ground, which they boil up with leaves of trees and make soup of. But when the frost really

comes to stay all this will be at an end, and as supplies and money become used up there will be nothing but starvation before hundreds of thousands, if not millions'

Another worker writing from Anping in Chihli, on December 12, 1920, said

'The people in this area are those who have been subject to floods for several years in succession on account of the ravages of the Pu-tao ho. This year they had a different experience in the form of drought. For several years they have been on the verge of starvation. They have had to do without buying clothes for they could not get even enough to eat. Many of them are literally in rags. Such garments as they wear are of the thinnest description, and only a few can boast of wadded winter clothes. In some of the homes there is no straw on the cold brick bed. A few bits of broken matting is all they have to sleep on, and for covering no wadded quilt, but you may find a roll of straw strung together to make some substitute for blankets. A number are already frost-bitten and are not able to leave their huts. Even now the death-rate from cold and starvation is very heavy.'

From other reports we learnt that at least half the people in the famine districts were without either food, clothes, or shelter. They were eating sand burr, elm bark, acacia leaves, and weeds, which were all made into a kind of gruel. The cooking of the food—if it might be called such—was done over fires of dried weeds and sorghum stocks from the roofs of their huts, which was all that was left them. Their sufferings were so acute that mothers were not only selling their children so as to reduce the number of mouths to be fed but not a few, when fleeing from famine-stricken areas, were throwing their babies into the rivers. The selling of children, which is common at such times, has increased considerably during this famine. While in the past it has been girls principally who were disposed of, boys were rarely sold. But recently, in order to save boys from dying of hunger, they have been given away and sold. This does not mean that the Chinese are more callous and indifferent to the welfare of their children than other

nations, but it is owing to the desperate position in which they find themselves, and with the hope that their offspring will escape death from starvation by being taken where food is more plentiful. There is a consensus of opinion among those who know the Chinese best that they are as fond of their children as other peoples. Grinding poverty and the scarcity of food is the reason why children are sold in China.

**RELIEF MEASURES** — This famine has created world-wide interest and aroused the public spirit of the Chinese in a way never before known. The Chinese Government appropriated \$1,000,000 and instituted a 20 per cent reduction in official salaries for famine relief. The President of the Republic gave \$100,000 for the same purpose, and the Governor of Shansi contributed a year's salary amounting to \$36,000, and suggested that each official in the province should give one-tenth of his salary for relief. Students in many of the colleges refrained from eating meat for three months, so that they might have more to send for the mitigation of suffering in the famine areas. International Committees were formed in Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Tsinan, and many other cities and Treaty ports, for the raising and administration of funds. The Chinese Government appointed special Famine Commissioners to co-operate with and assist these International Committees. Free railway transport for grain and other supplies as well as free passes for those engaged in famine relief were granted by the Government. After conferences and careful investigations arrangements were made for each Committee to undertake famine relief in a certain area so as to avoid overlapping. Chinese and foreign ladies committees were formed in many of the large centres like Peking and Shanghai, with a view of raising funds and have been very successful.

The American Red Cross Society contributed \$500,000 gold, the Hong Kong and Singapore Governments \$100,000 and \$125,000 respectively, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Penang 10,000 taels. Large sums have been sent from America, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, as well as

from this country. There was collected from the Chinese community here over £1,015, and our committee has remitted up to date £21,513 19s 9d. Many of the missionary societies and the Salvation Army have forwarded large amounts themselves to their own workers for distribution.

The Chinese Government obtained the sanction of the Treaty Powers to increase the customs tariff on imports and exports from 5 per cent to 5½ per cent *ad valorem* for one year. A surtax was also imposed on railway, postal, and telegraphic rates for famine relief. In anticipation of the receipts from these sources the Chinese Government obtained a loan of \$4,000,000 from British, French, American, and Japanese banks, to be devoted to famine relief work. On January 31, 1921, contributions from all sources amounted to \$6,000,000, making, with the \$4,000,000 borrowed, \$10,000,000. This sum at that date had been mostly spent on the purchase of grain, and the climax of the famine would not come until the end of February. The one cheering item of news we have had from China is that the harvest prospects for May and June are very promising.

**EMPLOYMENT** — In the early days of the famine Chinese and foreign engineers presented a Memorial to the President of the Chinese Republic suggesting the employment of the men who were physically fit in carrying on work for the making of new roads, deepening canals and rivers, and for improving the means of transport. These schemes were approved, so that a large number of able-bodied men have been employed on works of public utility. It was estimated that to employ 500,000 men at 20 cents a day for 200 days, in the province of Chihli alone, would cost for material and labour \$12,000,000. That would mean relieving some 2,000,000 people, as it was assumed that each man would support at least three dependents. While I am afraid there is no prospect at the present time of such a large amount being available for carrying on such works, something is being done which in the near future will be an immense advantage to the Chinese people, as the loss to the nation for want of good roads is enormous.

REFORMS NECESSARY — The limited space at my disposal will only enable me to indicate in the briefest possible manner one or two reforms, with a view of lessening, if not preventing, such loss of life as is the result of this famine

1 *Afforestation* — It is generally recognized that one of the causes of these periodic famines is the neglect by the Chinese Government of afforestation. What has been done by the British in Hong Kong, the Japanese in South Manchuria, and the Germans in Tsingtau are examples of what might be done in other parts of China. In Tsingtau afforestation produced a remarkable change in a few years by the planting of Chinese and Japanese oak-trees. In 1901 acacia-trees were planted in large numbers, which had the effect of binding the soil and the surface earth of the hill-slopes. Conifers, Chinese and Japanese cypress and pines, were also planted. It was found there that as a result of afforestation there was less damage done by the heavy rains, as whereas formerly the water ran off in about twelve hours, the land retained the moisture for five days. Besides improving the sanitary conditions of Tsingtau and neighbourhood, it gave well-kept, shady, and woodland roads, which in summer formed a delightful shade from the sun.

The multiplication and Government support of such institutions as the College of Agriculture and Forestry connected with the University of Nanking is urgently needed. It has already justified its existence, and received some official support from the Civil and Military Governors of Kiangsu and a promise of \$2,000 a year for five years from the enlightened and progressive Governor of Shansi, Yen Shi-shan, but that is inadequate. Here are a few of the things undertaken by that College. The planting of mulberry-trees, improving the growth of cotton, seed selection for the improvement of corn, rice, and wheat, fruit-farming, production of silkworm eggs according to the Pasteur method, and sericultural investigations principally along the lines of breeding and selection for improved quality. Agricultural education is being introduced and carried on in many Christian and Government colleges, which if efficiently managed, as that of Nanking is, will in a few years effect a

tremendous transformation in China. They should, however, be liberally supported by the Government, and grants of land in all the provinces should be made for the establishment of such farms as the Nanking College of Agriculture and Forestry cultivate for the training of the students. The co-operation of the Government and the public is necessary if these institutions are to be the means of preventing such famines as the present one, which is quite possible.

The planting of trees in the northern provinces of China would not only improve the rainfall, but in time the forests would become a source of revenue to the State and the means of productive income for the people. Rigid and strict laws should be enacted for the severe punishment of those who would be caught uprooting saplings which have been planted. When it is remembered that in Japan 500,000,000 trees are planted annually to make up for depletion, and that laws are promulgated with the object of preventing the destruction of such trees, there is no reason why the Chinese Government should not adopt a similar policy.

2 *Restriction of Early Marriages*—While it is true that girls in China, especially at the large centres, do not marry as early as they do in India, not a few are married between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Rules were laid down by the Board of Education in Peking that students in colleges should not marry until they were twenty in the case of girls and twenty-two in the case of male students, which is all for the good. It has been estimated that at twenty all girls in China—excepting certain classes—are wives, and that five-sixths of the young men are husbands. That being so, it will be seen how it comes about that, in spite of the tremendous loss of life through civil wars, floods, and droughts, the population is ever increasing. According to the census taken by the Chinese Postal Administration in 1919, the population is estimated at 427,670,214. This number did not include either Mongolia or Tibet, the population of those two countries being about 3,000,000, so that the population of China and her dependencies is, roughly speaking, over 430,000,000. And this

notwithstanding the great infant mortality, which is said to be between 15,000,000 and 16,000,000 a year. As has been truly said Mr J. O. P. Bland, the condition of things which exist in the north of China to-day 'must inevitably continue to occur, so long as the religious instincts and social traditions of the people continue to inculcate early marriages and an abnormally high birth-rate. The over-population in a country where there is insufficient food not only means death by starvation to millions, but for those who survive it is a keen struggle for a bare existence, drudgery and privation. By education, economic and social reform, and scientific development of the country's resources much may be accomplished for the improvement of the material condition of the people, but until it is fully realized by the Government and the Chinese public that the high birth-rate is one of the main causes for the chronic poverty, especially in the northern provinces, the remedies suggested will only be partial.'

Allied to this question is polygamy and concubinage in China, which are prolific causes for over-population. Without entering into the moral issues, as the system can hardly be called immoral with the examples in the Old Testament, on economic and social grounds there is little to recommend it. From the days of Yao, who introduced the system, when he gave his daughters as wives to his successor the biographies of the concubines in the palace with notable exceptions, contain very little but intrigue and murders. And while it is true that even an Emperor was supposed to have only one wife, who was the Empress, some of them had from 2,000 to 3,000 concubines, and at times they exceeded 10,000. When we are told that one of the most enlightened Emperors Kang Hsi, had thirty-five sons and that he took pride in his procreative capacity, we are not surprised to learn that his sons, like the sons of Eli, dealt evilly with the people, and brought their father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave."

And the results of polygamy and concubinage in the experience of the Emperor Kang Hsi has been that of his predecessors and successors throughout Chinese history. It has

often been admitted by intelligent and progressive Chinese that the system has been, and still is, a prolific source of domestic strife and social evils. Under the Manchu dynasty it had a good deal to do with the practice of extortion on the part of officials, as in order to keep up large establishments they had to resort to "squeezing" the people. One can only hope that under a Republic there will be an effort on the part of the leaders of the people to abolish, in spite of its antiquity, "the fundamental errors of a social system which makes famine absolutely inevitable—viz., polygamy, the marriage of minors, and an excessive birth-rate."

There are many other reforms which must be carried out before the evils of poverty in China are done away with, but when one remembers the remarkable progress that has been made commercially, industrially, and socially during the past half-century, there is great hope that even such difficult problems as those referred to will in time be solved to the benefit of the people. The philosophic patience with which the Chinese in the northern provinces are bearing their sufferings through this terrible famine is winning the admiration of all who know them. The Peking correspondent of *The Times* telegraphing on December 17 last, said

"The resignation and dignity of the people in face of this calamity cannot but excite the greatest respect and increase the ardour of all famine-workers."

The Hon. Treasurer of the China Famine Relief Fund is Sir Charles Addis, Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E C 4, who will be glad to receive and acknowledge any contributions. Funds are still urgently needed, and special efforts are being made by the Chinese and foreign communities in China to render assistance until the May and June harvests have been gathered. "He gives twice who gives quickly."

## JAPAN'S RECORD IN KOREA

By H. J. MULLETT-MERRICK

*(Late Adviser to the South Manchuria Railway Company)*

ON my return to the Old Country last autumn, after many years' residence in the Far East I was both amazed and amused at the general misconception which appeared to prevail concerning Far Eastern questions, particularly with regard to Japan's policy in Korea, which has been misnamed Japan's Irish Problem

To get the slightest idea or understanding of the Korean Question, one must banish the notion that the case is at all similar to that of Ireland. One is a Western nation and the other is an Eastern nation. One has moved for centuries in the forefront of the world's civilization, the other only ten years ago did not know what the world's civilization meant. One has for centuries been capable of self-government if the factions would only agree, the other proved conclusively throughout generation after generation that its only idea of government was by party strife and unbridled corruption, tyranny, and oppression. One kept pace with the march of the world, the other sank to the very lowest depths of degradation, and her neighbour who came so generously and successfully to her rescue is now being assailed with the bitterest abuse. In judging the merits of the case, therefore, it is necessary always to bear in mind two facts. First, that ancient as is Japan's history and native civilization, she has progressed more along the lines of Western civilization during the last fifty years than we did during the preceding 500 years, and that the transition is still going on. Second, that Korea, though of older origin

than Japan has always been a poverty stricken country, steadily descended in the social scale while Japan was rising, was equally exclusive to the world, and has no idea of Western methods of government except what Japan has taught her

No country in the world ever did or ever will take on such a difficult and thankless job as Japan when in 1911 she incorporated Korea, with her full consent, into the Japanese Empire. Centuries of corruption among the governing class had produced a people mentally debased, without even elementary education, sullen, in the direst straits of poverty, and undoubtedly the most thrifless people in the inhabited world. Yet this people has been physically and morally stiffened in ten short years to desire its independence. Not a bad record for Japan! Had anyone predicted such a wonderful transformation, such a tremendous upheaval, a decade ago he would have been ridiculed with scorn. One of the first things Japan had to do was to abolish the different classes which had existed in Korea from time immemorial. These consisted of the nobility and landed aristocracy (known as the yang-pans) the middle class, the common people, and the slaves. Slavery existed in Korea throughout the whole of its history until abolished by Japan in 1911. One in less than every twenty of the population was a slave. Among many other restrictions, the common people were forbidden to live in houses more than thirty feet long, to wear spectacles, to ride in palanquins, to send their children to school, or to go about the streets at night, and the officials were ever devising schemes how they could squeeze more money out of them by illegal taxations and fines. The freedom from these restraints during the past ten years under Japanese rule must have been like Paradise to them, though it is hard to change the lines of thought and habit which have become hereditary throughout the centuries. They thought it foolish to work hard and try to lay up for a rainy day only to be robbed of their savings sooner or later by the officials.

It seemed to them the safest way to remain poor and live in hovels, so as not to attract attention Dr Gale, in his "Korean Sketches" (Edinburgh, 1898), said "The curse of Korea is that it has so few working men It is a nation that has wasted away in idleness." And Mr W E Griffis, the author of 'Korea the Hermit Nation,' wrote in 1907 "To the great mass of the people in Korea there is no motive for much industry beyond danger of starvation, and but little incentive to enterprise Under old normal conditions, now being slowly ameliorated, the official, the yang pan and the landed aristocracy—in a word, the predatory classes—seize upon the common man's earnings and accumulations, so that it seems to him useless, and even foolish, to work for more than enough to support life, while as for the 'civilization nonsense, does it not mean more taxation ?'

What a legacy to hand over to Japan! The crushing tyranny and oppression by the upper classes on the one hand, and the weary inertia of the common people and hopelessness of the slaves on the other hand doomed the country to certain death It was as if a heavy pall hung over the land. Have the Koreans then, lost their independence? How could they lose what they never had, as we understand the meaning of the word? Are they not better off more prosperous more free, more virile, and more safe, to say nothing of being more healthy, more tranquil, and better educated, as part of a strong Power than under their old régime?

Above I have tried to draw a picture of what Korea was like when she became merged into Japan It would fill several bulky volumes adequately to treat on what Japan has since done for her adopted child, therefore it can be only slightly touched upon in one or two phases in a paper of this dimension In the first place, I consider that Japan originally made a mistake in striving for assimilation rather than union But the mistake was made with good intentions, and there are other good excuses Japan had

achieved such wonderful success in assimilating the Loochoo Islanders that she evidently thought she would have equal if not greater success in assimilating the Koreans, seeing that the Japanese and Koreans are akin both in race and language, and their countries divided only by a narrow strait. Personally I have no doubt that in the near future the subjects of the Japanese Empire will be as proud of the Rising Sun, whether they be of Japanese or Korean origin, as we are of the Union Jack, whether we be of English or Scottish origin.

But to come to facts. Korea owes its railways entirely to the Japanese. A generation ago there was not a single line in the country. Now there are over 1,000 miles in operation, a trunk line traversing the peninsula lengthwise, and many branch lines linking up various parts of the country. Under the old administration there were no highways worthy of the name, and many rivers had few, if any, bridges across them, so that when ferry boats were not obtainable travellers were obliged to wade, and in times of flood were obliged to wait until the river again became fordable. All this has been altered by the Japanese. At the end of March, 1918, 5,100 miles of roads had been completed of which 3,850 miles were undertaken at Government expense, and the rest half at Government expense and half at local expense, costing in all about £3,000,000. The post and telegraph system has also been completed, and a telephone service and electric light installed in every important place. Thus the farthest ends of the peninsula have been brought into contact by a day and night journey, all towns of note connected by the railways and the rest by good roads. As a consequence, modernizing influences of the world are finding their way into the forbidden cities of the interior, better housing is taking the place of the old low thatched mud hovels, new industries are springing up on every hand (many under joint Japanese and Korean enterprise), and commerce, a thing practically unheard of under the old régime, is making great headway.

in the country Since 1911 the Japanese have also established a commercial and credit system, spent a million pounds in harbour work to admit ocean going steamers, effected a transformation in the agricultural industry by agricultural schools and model farms and seedling stations, fostered mining, afforestation, and marine fishery, developed native industries, introduced new industries, established a sound system of education, etc

But facts speak louder than words Taking education first, in 1906 there were throughout Korea only thirteen public and nine Government common schools, one law school, one higher school, and seven foreign language schools, a total of thirty two schools An American writer says "At the time of the annexation there were in Korea, aside from the mission institutions, only fifty schools, most of them with only a handful of pupils The budget for education was 162,792 dollars Of this, 135,074 dollars was for Seoul (the capital), leaving 27,718 dollars for the rest of the country" The Rev F H Smith, a missionary stationed in Seoul for the last six years, wrote in an American newspaper last May as follows "The Japanese decided that the greatest need was common school education for the greatest possible number of people. At first it was almost necessary to bribe the children to go to school, but the desire for education grew, and the number of schools was increased until at the last report (May 31, 1919) there were 517 common schools enrolling 89,216 pupils The statistics for the same date show that there were eighteen higher common schools with 3,841 pupils, eighty-eight industrial and commercial schools with 2,568 pupils, six special colleges with 819 students, and 749 private schools of all kinds enrolling 38,678 pupils throughout Korea Surely this is a good record for ten years Writing further on the same subject, the reverend gentleman said "The fact is that there are (1919 figures) 83,065 Japanese and 3,138,140 Korean households in the country For education the Japanese give an average of 944 sen per house-

hold, or 784,108 yen a year for primary education, while the Koreans give six and one-fifth sen a household, or a total of 195,326 yen. The schools of higher grade have so far been supported wholly with funds from the national treasury of Japan." These figures speaks volumes for what Japan has done for Korean education.

Now let us turn to agricultural development. At the time of the annexation there were 2,077,294 acres of paddy fields and 3,963,200 acres of upland under cultivation, a total of 6,040,494 acres, with an agricultural population of 2,336,320 families comprising 10,427,199 people, giving an average area per family of 2.59 acres. Eight years later, in 1918, there were 3,784,780 acres of paddy fields and 6,855,948 acres of upland, a total of 10,640,728 acres, with 2,652,484 families comprising 13,942,474 people, and an average area per family of 4.01 acres. Thus, through reclamation and irrigation works, an increase of more than 76 per cent has been made in the acreage of arable land in the peninsula, and, notwithstanding the fact that the agrarian population has also rapidly increased, the average allotment per family has expanded 55 per cent to over four acres each. The striking increase in the agricultural wealth of the people may be further substantiated by the following table.

	1910	1918
Cattle	703,844	1,480,037
Horses	39,860	58,217
Asses	8,264	12,172
Mules	812	2,211
Pigs	565,757	923,979
Sheep	47	670
Goats	7,332	16,650
Fowls	2,796,259	4,913,322

In the same period the number of Korean fishing-boats increased from 12,749 to 39,000, the number of fishers from 76,900 to 272,077, and the value of catch from 3,929,260 yen to 14,670,068 yen.

There does not seem much fault to be found with a Government which is responsible for such extraordinary progress.

as is found in the above figures. But I have not done with statistics yet. Education and agricultural development were certainly the chief needs for such a down trodden and supine people as the Koreans. Now let us take a glance in the direction of trade and commerce, which I have said was practically unknown before the Japanese annexation. In 1886 the Korean Customs service was placed under Sir Robert Hart Inspector General of the Chinese Customs, and the trade records for that year show a total of 3,102,054 yen (566,047 in export and 2,536,007 in import). About a quarter of a century later, in 1910 the total had risen to 70,772,357 yen (29,113,481 in export and 41,658,876 in import). Under the Japanese there was then a big advance each year until it amounted to 113,605,303 yen in 1913. Then the Great War broke out, and though its effect in Korea was not so great as that felt in other quarters, the total trade figures were brought up to 506,507,832 yen in 1919 (224,084,440 in export and 282,423,392 in import), making an increase of 346 per cent in six years and of over 700 per cent since the annexation.

A word in conclusion about the population. In 1910, the census showed 13,128,780 Koreans, 171,543 Japanese, and 12,694 foreigners, a total of 13,313,017. In 1918, the figures were 16,697,017 Koreans, 336,872 Japanese, and 23,143 foreigners, a total of 17,057,032. During the eight years the Koreans had increased by over 3,500,000, notwithstanding the exodus of the self-exiled irreconcilables, the Japanese by 165,000 and the foreigners by 10,000. The density of the population is about 200 per square mile, or about half that of Japan, where it is 379 per square mile. These figures prove conclusively that what Japan has done has been mainly for the Koreans, and that it is the Koreans who have benefited. In my humble opinion, the Japanese have every right to be exceedingly proud of what they have accomplished in the short space of ten years, even in comparison with the most glorious feats of colonization which can be shown by this or any country. She set herself the

most stupendous task, and one day she will win an exceedingly great reward As Dr Brown has written "When Japan took control there were no roads, no railways, no telegraphs, no schools worthy of the name except mission schools, no justice in the courts, no uniform currency, practically nothing of any kind that a people needs The Japanese had to create all the external conditions of stable government and civilized life, and to create them against the opposition of a corrupt and degenerate ruling class and the inherited inertia and squalor of a people who had so long acquiesced in misgovernment and injustice that they had ceased to care" And the Rev F H Smith, writing on the upheaval of March, 1919, said "The direct cause of the uprising was the activities of those outside Korea, who knew little or nothing of present-day conditions President Wilson must carry heavy responsibilities as one of the inciters of this movement His enunciation of the doctrine of self-determination for small nations aroused the hopes of the self exiled Korean agitators, who have never been reconciled to Japanese occupation They were led to believe that he would help them at Paris if they could show that they had grievances Withal it is safe to say that without the instigation from outside—from America, Hawaii, Shanghai, and Vladivostok—no demonstrations would have occurred

"Why, then,' it may well be asked, "do the Koreans want to regain their independence?" As far as I could gather from the Koreans themselves in various trips through the peninsula (twice since the outbreak in March, 1919), the great mass of the people were quite content until inflamed by Korean agitators from outside, encouraged by the sympathy of some of the missionaries, and led away by the self-determination pronunciation of President Wilson I was told that millions of Koreans took no part whatever in the demonstrations, and that many who did were influenced more by the spirit of patriotism which had arisen after the passing of their kingdom than with actual resentment

against the Japanese. Of course, there must have been some smouldering discontent in the breasts of the masses, or the agitators would never have succeeded in working up the number of sporadic demonstrations that took place in that trying month of March. It was easy to find that there were two main causes for this discontent—one resting on the shoulders of the Japanese, and the other the fault of the Koreans themselves. As I have previously said, the Japanese made the mistake of trying to assimilate the Koreans into the Japanese nation. They fondly hoped that, owing to many similar characteristics between the two races, in language especially, they would be able to produce a second United Kingdom. Another England and Scotland was their professed aim and object. But to achieve this they started with a military administration, and they discriminated between Japanese and Koreans. The military administration was a mistake, seeing the annexation was made with the full consent of the Koreans. To attempt to impose upon a nation older than their own an assimilation policy was a greater mistake. But not even the best friend to Korea could say that the Koreans were in any way fitted to be placed on an equal footing with the Japanese until after a period of education, training, and general development. The Japanese failed in their purpose, and they gradually appreciated their mistake, so much so that they were devising reforms in their administration when "Mansei," the cry for independence arose. The other cause for discontent was due to the Korean nature. Centuries of corruption and oppression by their own rulers had produced the most idle and dispirited nation among the recognized peoples of the world. They had almost become a byword among the nations of the East. To arouse them from their apathy, to eradicate their sloth to inculcate the beginnings of sanitation meant to divert their hereditary traits, to change their very nature, and a spirit of resentment was bred in the process. Did not reformers in free and enlightened England find the same spirit in the

slums? To these two main causes is attributable the trouble that arose two years ago. The Japanese dealt with the movement in no uncertain way. They demonstrated to the demonstrators the utter futility of the movement. And at the same time they promised reforms. The promise they immediately began to put into effect. Reforms previously considered were speeded up, and new reforms were introduced. It now rests with the Koreans and their so-called friends whether Korea shall be a second Scotland or a second Ireland.

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## THE VISIT OF THE CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By KOSAKU TAMURA

H I H HIROHITO the Crown Prince of Japan, and his suite are now on their voyage to visit England and other European countries. We may expect him here at the beginning of May. This unprecedented event has caused a great sensation among all Japanese. Indeed, no Japanese heir to the throne has ever left the Land of the Rising Sun. Reports say that on his departure many ultra-patriots tried every possible means, such as throwing themselves before the Imperial train, for the purpose of postponing the Royal tour. So popular is he and so loved by all Japanese that they seem to feel uneasy about the long journey. They prayed at the Meiji and other shrines for the safety of the Crown Prince during his tour.

The battleship *Katori* in which he embarked at Yokohama on March 3 is being escorted by its sister ship *Kashima*. Both of these ships were built in England in 1906.

The Crown Prince is just twenty years of age on April 29 of this year, and the eldest of the present Emperor's four sons. His personal character so resembles his grand-

father, the Meiji Emperor to whom all Japanese were intensely devoted during his reign, that all people who meet the Crown Prince are always struck by the same dignity that the late Great Emperor possessed. He is without doubt a born Emperor. All the hopes of the Japanese are centred upon him.

He enjoys exceedingly good health. He is a good sportsman and especially fond of golf.

As reported already, the Crown Prince is betrothed to H I H the Princess Nagako, the eldest daughter of Prince Kuni. The marriage will take place on returning from his tour.

The Crown Prince's visit to Europe has no political or official purpose. His object is to "seek knowledge through the world," which is one of the five fundamental policies declared by the Emperor Meiji on the occasion of his ascending the throne half a century ago. The object of his journey may be said to be attained if he can broaden his knowledge by coming in contact with European civilization. We cannot help hoping that he will really understand Occidental civilization and endeavour to bring about harmony between West and East and thus ensure the world's peace.

## MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED—I

BY CAPTAIN H. BIRCH REYNARDSON

THE future government of Mesopotamia and its relation to the British Empire is a question which of late has aroused considerable interest. This question in its many aspects has been discussed at length both in the daily papers and in those periodicals which concern themselves with Imperial questions but the correspondence evoked has been limited in its scope. Much has been written as to the rights of the natives to independent government, and as to the possibility or the expediency of Great Britain continuing to occupy and administer the country. In the course of this correspondence in the Press we have had many allusions to ancient history and much prophecy as to the future possibilities of the country, a considerable number of war books have dealt with various stages of the campaign in Mesopotamia as seen by the soldier, but, except for some criticism of our administration and our policy aroused by the rising of last summer, we have been left without any clear information on the points most necessary to an understanding of the problems discussed.

The first questions the average man will ask (if he is interested) are—“In what state was Mesopotamia when we arrived in 1914? What have we been doing there since (beyond defeating the Turks)? What is the present state of the country after five years of our administration?”

They are rational questions, but though he wades through a dozen books and reads carefully all that appears from day to day in the Press, his questions will remain unanswered.

Unfortunately, in the past the average reader has been somewhat prejudiced against official publications, they have

acquired a reputation for stodginess, for dryness, and for a lamentable lack of humour which, despite the valuable information which doubtless they contain, makes their assimilation a painful process. The mirror of truth has been clouded by the breath of officialdom.

But recently there has appeared a very notable exception to this rule let the average man dismiss his former prejudice, and he may learn the answers to those questions which he has been asking. For in a White Paper (Cmd 1061) the India Office has published a "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia" which alike in the information it contains and in the manner in which the subject is treated is a very remarkable document.

In this Report we have for the first time a clear account of the state of society and of the system of administration in Mesopotamia which Great Britain inherited from Turkey of the measures which we took during the war to evolve order out of chaos and of the result of five years of British administration in this country.

The preparation of this Report was entrusted to Miss Gertrude Bell C B E, by the Acting Civil Commissioner, Sir Arnold Wilson and he is to be congratulated on his choice. Miss Bell in view of her remarkable journeys through the Middle East before the war, and her intimate knowledge of Arabian tribes to which must be added her close association with administrative departments in Mesopotamia during the war was fully qualified for the task. But to such qualifications she adds others she has a wonderful power of explanation, she has an imagination which she conveys to the reader, so that he can see what she so vividly describes she has sympathy, and, lastly, as unexpected in a White Paper as it is welcome, a most humane sense of humour. Indeed this is no Report in the ordinary sense of the word. Miss Bell has written a most fascinating book, as full of charm and interest as it is of valuable information.

So much for the manner we must now turn to the matter of the book.

In the first place, a certain familiarity with the position and physical geography of Mesopotamia is naturally presumed, for no reader is likely to have acquired an interest in the political and commercial future of a country without having been led by curiosity to do a little spade-work on his own. So Miss Bell takes it for granted that the main facts as to geography, climate, people, and communications are familiar to the reader, there are no elementary descriptions of palm-trees and deserts, or of the rivers and the picturesque purlieus of Basra and Baghdad. Yet, on the other hand, in spite of the technical subjects often to be dealt with, so clear is the style and so direct the method of explanation that without any previous intimate knowledge of the country and its people we are able to understand the condition of affairs and appreciate the difficulties which had to be solved.

To the greatest and the most persistent of these difficulties the first paragraph of the "Review" calls our attention. It is a quotation from the Political Diary of the British Resident in Baghdad, dated 1910, in which he exclaims on the hopeless inefficiency of the Turkish Administration. "I had no idea before coming to Baghdad," he writes, "of the extent to which Turkey is a country of red tape and blind and dumb officialdom, nor of the degree in which the Turkish position in Irak is unsupported by physical force."

Throughout these pages we are impressed again and again by this supreme obstacle, the root cause of most, if not all, of the difficulties and troubles related. The British Resident's words in 1910 are spoken as a prologue.

The curtain rises on the outbreak of war, and throughout the first chapter (to employ a somewhat mixed metaphor) we are engaged in watching the leading characters "walk on" and in learning of the immediate results of the first fighting, the taking of Basra and Kurna, and of the initial measures for the administration of Mesopotamia. We are immediately convinced by the skilful manner in which the political scenery and characters are managed, and the description of the Sheikh of Kurna is full of promise—"his restless and wary glance, his

beard dyed red with henna, and his flow of eloquent periods A bit of a scholar, he possesses a meagre library, and prides himself on a knowledge of history which covers a period extending, with lapses, to the days of Adam ' After this we rest assured that in the course of the ensuing pages we shall, at least, be spared any heavy officialdom

For the first month or so of British occupation little could be done in the way of civil administration as the military situation—considerations of security and the consolidation of our position—still demanded the first attention But the situation in and around Basra was soon cleared up, and even in the spring of 1915, when a Turkish army was once more at the western gates of the city, the local Arab gave no serious trouble " As for the guns of the English, explained one of the combatants, ' they filled the air with noise tore up the earth, and knocked down the palm-trees That sahib is not war After a brief experience of these unfamiliar terrors the speaker had returned to the cultivation of his garden, contentedly accepting our administration

In January Mr Henry Dobbs, I C S (now Sir Henry Dobbs, and in charge of the British Mission to Kabul) arrived in Basra as Revenue Commissioner, and at once proceeded to the organization of the fiscal and revenue systems of the vilayet It is in this second chapter that we gain a further insight into the appalling chaos of Turkish bureaucracy, and realize that we were engaged on no virgin soil but had first to clear the ground of the overgrowth of centuries of inefficient administration The Turkish régime had made no attempt to fit its methods to Irak It governed, or attempted to govern, through sedentary officials working by minute regulations framed at Constantinople for Western Turkey it conducted its business exclusively in Turkish a foreign language and a system of checks and counter-checks was encouraged in order to provide occupation for fresh appointments

The complication of the Turkish financial arrangements with the cumbrous system of watertight compartments, each in separate correspondence with a head office in Stamboul, is

lucidly explained, and the workings of the various departments—such as the Auqaf (pious bequests), the Crown lands, and the Ottoman debt—are betrayed in all their iniquity. Taxes of all kinds were collected by farming or by subordinate officials appointed annually to collect a specific tax—which amounts to very much the same thing. As the “Review” remarks, “the system invited peculation and corruption. . . . the invitation was seldom refused.”

As an example of this cheerful method is quoted the instance of a Mutasarrif—popular with his superiors, if not with the people he governed—who boasted that his budget showed no expenditure at all. All the officials, from the Mutasarrif himself downwards, drew no pay, but lived on questionable perquisites, while repairs, public work, etc., were simply neglected.

But, bad as the system was, any attempt at its immediate and sudden destruction was inadvisable, if not impossible, in view of the military situation and condition of the people, it was decided to keep the framework intact, but to free the method of administration from corruption and abuses. To quote but one instance, the changes made in the Auqaf department are surely enough to convince the reader not only of Sir Henry Dobbs’ brilliant work, but of the sympathy and efficiency with which the British undertook the reform of this essentially Mahomedan service. Again in Chapter VIII this department is examined, and we notice that whereas under Turkish rule it was in such a state of insolvency (or ‘leakage’) that there was no money available for the repair of mosques, payment of priests, etc., under the British system inaugurated by Sir Henry Dobbs a remarkable change has taken place. Although repairs to mosques have been effected and the payment of priests, staff, and religious educational establishments organized on an equitable scale, there was in 1920 a balance of five lacs of rupees.

Until the summer of 1918 the department of Education was, like that of Auqaf, merged with Revenue under British administration. Of the Turkish educational system we read little that is good. “The education of Moslems in Irak was in the main what the Turks made it, and so far as it exhibited any con-

sidered policy, it was to Ottomanize the Arabs " In the Basra vilayet the problem of its reform was rather less difficult than at Baghdad and Mosul, with their more mixed populations, and a popular change was immediately effected in making Arabic, the language of the people, the medium of instruction English was taught as a foreign language, as there was a great demand for this among parents, and without English instruction there would have been little to attract pupils from the elementary mulla's schools, which for all practical purposes were useless

The chief difficulty was to procure and maintain a supply of trained teachers, and it was determined to proceed slowly until suitable teachers were forthcoming, under the old régime the personal characters of the teachers had alone been enough to condemn such schools as existed

If in the Baghdad vilayet the Turkish educational programme was more ambitious, it was, if anything, rather more ineffective than at Basra It is epitomized as follows " The scheme as set forth in the official Turkish Education Year-Book, full of maps and statistics might have roused the envy and despair of the British authorities of the occupied territories but for the knowledge that, provided a school were shown correctly as a dot on a map, the Turk cared not to inquire whether the pupils enrolled even attended, or whether the system of education pursued in it was that of Arnold of Rugby or of Mr Wopsle's great-aunt "

In the summer of 1918 a department for Education was organized, and in the sections of Chapter VIII bearing on its work we are given a valuable insight into the complexities of the language and race problems involved The rival claims of 'higher education' which now is much in demand by the Intelligenzia as affording a road to independent institutions are contrasted with those of technical education, which, it is pointed out, should form the substructure of the former Although political considerations may make it necessary to 'put the cart before the horse' lest we incur the charge of desiring to hold back the people from the path of national progress, it is, apparently, unlikely to have any adverse effect, for the Iraki appreciates good money, and will turn more readily to trade and

agriculture, where profits are to be made, than to Government posts which will afford him but a moderate living

From Education we pass to the judicial administration, the system of land tenure and registration—*Tapu* (which, “though it possessed signal merits, was, like all things Turkish, a theory rather than a fact”), public health, and tribal levies. These departments are all dealt with in greater detail later, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, and here we learn merely the main features of the British reforms from which the detail was developed as time went on. But each paragraph is an example of economical explanation of a difficult subject, providing a knowledge whereby the reader can form a clear idea of the why and wherefore of our administrative measures and the conditions under which they were brought into being.

After the framework of the first two chapters there follow three chapters dealing with our relations with the Arab tribes, the Shah cities of Karbela and Nejef and the Kurds. Not only do these pages tell of the gradual extension and consolidation of our rule but the information they contain as to the history of the people, their customs and mode of life, is as interesting as it is unique. Miss Bell possesses an unsurpassed knowledge of the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, of their habits and mentality, as well as of the miserable system under which they were mis-governed by the Turk, she speaks from personal experience. Throughout these chapters one is continually struck by a happiness of phrase and expression a power of description, and a perfect use of anecdote, which combine to give the reader an accurate and at the same time a comprehensive view of country and people.

In the course of a discussion on the relations between the Turks and the Arab tribes in Chapter III, the drift of the nomad from South Arabia into Mesopotamia is sketched in brief, but it is so described that the process of his expansion and settlement in the country is easily understood. In the story of the S'adun family, and again in that of Ibn Sa'ud, we may observe that employment of anecdote which does so much to throw light upon dark places—in this case the Turkish ‘policy’ as regards the tribes.

"Instead of utilizing the power of the sheikhs, the Turks pursued their classic policy of attempting to improve their own position by the destruction of such native elements of order as were in existence. To recognize local domination and yoke it to his service lay beyond the conception of the Turk, and the best that can be said for his uneasy seat upon the whirlwind was that he managed to retain it." It is in these words that the Turkish system of government is described, and when we visualize the system applied to such tribes as the Anizeh and Shammar, as they are portrayed in the next chapter, we are not surprised that it failed.

But if the Turk was not successful in dealing with the nomad tribes his policy towards the more settled portion of the community was scarcely more happy, especially in the Middle Euphrates districts. The Turks "we read, " in their dealings with the Shias of the Euphrates must be reckoned among those whom the gods wish to destroy. Throughout the Turkish policy indeed, whether in matters of finance, education, land tenure or justice we can trace the old quarrel of Sunni and Shia the Turk is a Sunni, and in Shia Irak he never forgot it.

Turkish ineptitude early resulted in forcing the influential Shia cities of Karbela and Nejef into opposition, and the account here given of the process introduces us to many remarkable personalities and to much interesting information as to the politics and divergent interests of the inhabitants. Before we condemn the lot as a pack of traitors in view of their uncertain sympathies we should first consider the position in which they (and indeed, all the natives) found themselves. After the fall of Kut in 1916 "it was abundantly clear to the dullest-witted that to desert the Turkish cause meant death if the offender fell into Ottoman hands, or, at any rate, exile under conditions which were tantamount to a death sentence, whereas to break promises given to the British implied, at the worst internment for a period of years in India in well-found camps." But it is proved conclusively that this apparently weak policy on our part was ultimately justified.

*(To be continued)*

## REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS HISTORIAN

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

KINGLAKE was the kindest of friends, and was always the first to be told of all joys or troubles. But once I saw him really angry with me. I had been dining with Count Beust the night before. Kinglake, or (as I and my other friends used to call him) "Eothen," came at his usual hour, and asked how I liked my party at the Embassy? "Oh, very much indeed," replied I. "Mr Gladstone took me in to dinner, and we talked a great deal, first of the Old Catholic movement, which he sincerely admires, then of Döllinger, Mr Gladstone exhibited a remarkable knowledge of the Eastern Church and her superiority over Romanism, then of you and your books."

No sooner had I uttered these words than Kinglake jumped from his chair. He—usually such a 'downright slow-coach,' as he called himself, he so very quiet and gentle in his manners—began pacing excitedly up and down the room.

"Why have you done this?" exclaimed he. "Why have you mentioned me? Had you no better subject?"

I was startled. "Why not?" I asked in return. "I never conceal either my friends or my friendships."

"But you ought never to have mentioned me to Gladstone. He dislikes me, and it may do you harm in his opinion."

If this was not kind, I do not know what kindness means. There are two examples of this which I should like also to mention. My book on "Russia and England," from 1876 to 1880—thanks chiefly to Mr Froude's Preface and Mr Gladstone's very kind review of it in the *Nineteenth Century*, as well as Emile de Laveleye's article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—had created an unexpected sensation. The Jingo camp was full of bitter attacks upon me, which I accepted with

gratitude as the only possible compliment from such a source. Some of these were simply absurd, and only made me laugh. But Kinglake was vexed, and determined to counteract the attack. In order to achieve that object he interrupted his usual work—the last volume of his “Crimean War”—and actually wrote a paper on the Eastern Question in the *Quarterly Review* the beginning of which was nothing but a glowing panegyric of my work. Nobody at that time except the Editor, knew the authorship of that unexpected demonstration in the very heart of Toryism, and of course, had it been written by a man less known and valued in the literary world nothing of this kind could ever have appeared in such a quarter. The second part, referring not at all to me but very bitterly to Russia and her political situation was added by someone else, with the object of toning down Kinglake’s views but I personally continued to have the benefit of his defence. That number of the *Quarterly* puzzled everybody as to the authorship of the article, and created a stir, but to Kinglake and myself it was the source of many amusing discussions.

Another and still greater proof of Kinglake’s kindness was given me, and has for ever sealed my gratitude to his memory.

A very great blow fell upon me in the year 1876. My brother Nicholas was killed at the head of a small, bravely armed detachment of Serbian volunteers. He fought to the last, and even when seriously wounded, and only supported by two Montenegrins, he still advanced towards the Turkish troops. On that occasion many English friends such as Mr Gladstone, Carlyle, Froude, Tyndall, C. P. Villiers, and others, showed me heartfelt sympathy. Kinglake came one day quite early, about ten o’clock—a very unusual time for his visits—and said he had been thinking about my brother, and, if I cared, would be glad to mention him in the preface to his popular edition of the “Crime in War”. I thanked him, and gave him all the English, American and French articles, as well as the official telegrams from King Milan of Serbia, which I had referring to that great misfortune to my family. Days, weeks, months passed. The end of my sojourn in England

was speedily approaching, and I thought Kinglake had given up the idea of the promised preface. As he was writing about a war belonging to another epoch, I quite understood the difficulty of mentioning events which had taken place twenty years later. I never referred to the subject again. On the eve of my departure for Russia, Kinglake came and said "I have been long about it, but you know I am always slow. Here is my belated manuscript, however, and I shall send it off at once." I seized the preface and read it. The references to my brother were extremely kind, and actually reproduced all the details published by the correspondents some of whom were on the spot at the time of his death. But what he said about Russia—about our Church, about our Emperor—seemed to me so unjust, so baseless, and so wrong, that I felt beside myself with indignation.

I sat before the fire, Kinglake looking at his manuscript. I got up. "What have you done?" I exclaimed. "How can you for one minute suppose that I will allow my brother's name to appear in a libel upon Russia? This is nothing but a libel, a libel, I say, and—no matter what happens as a result of my action—unless half of this awful preface is taken out at once, I throw your manuscript into the fire. How could you write such a thing? how could you throw away my friendship for ever in such a way?"

Kinglake, dear kind Kinglake, listened, said nothing, but gave me a red pencil. Take out what you like. Do not be angry. After all, you may be right. I took out almost three-quarters of his preface, and so, mutilated by my hand, it now adorns the popular editions of the "Crimean War." I should never have mentioned the episode had not Kinglake himself described it to Hayward in other words, communicated it to the world at large.

It may not be generally known, but this labour of twenty-six years, his *magnum opus* was in reality nothing but a token of gratitude to Lord Raglan.

Being a civilian, Kinglake, when expressing a wish to accompany the expedition to the Crimea, met with great opposition

from the military authorities, in spite of which, however, Lord Raglan took him there

In return for this friendly act, Kinglake determined to study the art of war and to write the history of Lord Raglan's campaign. When this was brought down to the time of his friend's death, Kinglake considered his work completed.

But was "great Eltchi" not right in allowing the civilian Kinglake to accompany his troops during the Turkish war of 1854?

Our great strategist, Todleben—whose name will for ever be connected with the heroic defence of Sebastopol—visited Kinglake in London, and entertained him in the Crimea a few years after the conclusion of peace. The General was very fond of him personally. Could anybody, knowing Kinglake, help being so?

Nevertheless Todleben never looked upon the "History of the Crimean War" as a specimen of scientific and authoritative work. He spoke once in my house to that effect:

But is it not most interesting? interrupted I, rather impatiently. "Can you not read it with breathless interest, like a delightful novel?"

"Just so," replied Todleben, smiling at my impatience. Like a novel, not military history!"

There was not a particle of petty vanity about our great Todleben, or he would not have minimized the historical value of a work which speaks of him in such glowing terms.

A characteristic and quite authentic anecdote corroborates my view. I had it at first hand.

A German travelling once from Berlin to St. Petersburg met a Russian, who seemed to be a man of great experience in military questions.

Being a soldier himself, the German delighted with his companion, became very talkative and frank. "I admire the Russian army immensely," said he. "There is no better in the world. But there is one thing about you Russians which I cannot tolerate."

"What is that?" inquired the other, evidently interested.

"You have no hero-worship, you have no Carlyle to teach you that feeling. You only admire foreign heroes. Towards your own you remain perfectly indifferent. Let me give you an example. But tell me first what you think yourself of General Todleben?"

"Well," said the Russian, speaking without the slightest enthusiasm, "he certainly did his duty not worse than anybody else. There are many in Russia just as good, if not better."

"There!" exclaimed the German triumphantly, "was I not right? A man who everywhere would be considered a glory to his country, whose statue would be in every city, whose portrait in every military school, you speak of him as if he were nothing more than a simple mediocrity!"

The Russian tried to change the subject. Upon many questions they fully agreed, so much so that further meetings were agreed upon. On reaching St. Petersburg the German presented his card, the Russian had to do the same. It was only then that his name was disclosed. He was General Todleben himself.

But to return to Kinglake. He and I often disagreed, or perhaps I should rather say agreed to differ. I admired the absence of duelling in England—a practice where the question of honour is decided sometimes by mere chance, sometimes by mechanical skill in shooting or fencing. Besides, our three best poets, Poushkin, Lermontoff and Griboyedoff lost their lives in that mad fashion. Even later the slightest cause could forfeit the most precious life in Russia, as in Germany and France.

Kinglake, on the contrary, blamed the "Iron Duke" for having suppressed duels, 'which, he said, 'kept up a better tone in society.'

I heard from one of Eothen's friends that soon after the Crimean War he sent a challenge and went to Boulogne, expecting his adversary to follow. A week having passed without the adversary putting in an appearance, Kinglake returned disgusted to London. I never knew the details of that incident.

Kinglake was also all for war. He used to say that the

facing of death had an ennobling influence on humanity, that peace would emasculate the world

"Besides," he continued, "population, when too dense, is not at its best"

"But in Russia," I rejoined, "we are not peopled sufficiently. It is a well-known fact that, if we have no proletariat, it is because there is more work than workers. This is, perhaps, an advantage Russia has over other European countries."

On the other hand, I, though the daughter of a man who earned his St George's Cross on a battlefield, sister of two soldiers, and wife of another, was always dreaming of peace, and even now I personally believe firmly that Russia, with her remarkably kind and pacific Emperor, would willingly have consented to a general disarmament if that grand move had simultaneously been taken by all the Great Powers, as was proved by the Hague Conference, started by our Emperor and opposed by the German Kaiser

Sometimes, vexed with my lack of demonstrative power against the necessities of war, I brought great authorities to my aid

"I wish you had come earlier yesterday," I remarked to him once, "you would have met John Bright. He was at first speaking in favour of Free Trade, which, I dare say, for an island like England was the best system to introduce, but he also talked of war. 'I believe' said Bright, with his strikingly melodious voice and with peculiar emphasis, that half the people who discuss that terrible subject have not the slightest idea what they are talking about. It is the essence of all the sufferings, the horrors, the crimes, of which man is capable'"

Kinglake interrupted. "Oh, Bright is nothing but a Quaker!"

Here I ventured to remark that, the other day in passing the monument to the Crimean War, I said to myself "This is the only result for England of the Crimean War of 1854" "Oh!" interrupted Bright "But the 'a' at the end of the word should be put at the beginning of the phrase (A Crime)"

"I dislike your 'but,'" interrupted I "The Quakers deserve trust and admiration, there is no hypocrisy, no sham about them They are true to themselves and their doctrines Morally they stand very high and are so generous "

If I were arguing the subject now I might have quoted a great French writer and statesman, Jules Simon He proposed that all civilized nations should pledge themselves not to enforce military service for more than one year upon any of their recruits

Jules Simon added "The friends of peace must never rest until this military reform is carried It will immensely reduce the military burden of Europe, under which it is staggering towards bankruptcy

'In diminishing the military force by one-half, or by two-thirds, it would practically reduce the standing armies of Europe to a militia powerful for defence, weak for offence *Defence not Defiance* would then become the motto for all

Of course the difficulty was to get a splendid measure like this carried *simultaneously by all the Great Powers* But Russia, whose military character certainly could not be questioned would, I feel sure have been ready to support what Kinglake derided as ' the Quaker's view There is real power in self-control, and in keeping the peace He repeatedly spoke of his strong desire to be cremated This was done at Woking Kinglake was eighty-one when he died, on January 2, 1891 but his mind was powerful and bright to his last day

I called on him frequently during the trying time of his illness, and only when all was over did I fully realize the loss of my old and exceptionally kind friend

But his death had a far greater importance His self-control, his wonderfully courageous calm before the final event could be compared to the splendid examples exhibited by the heroes of our last Great War

## THE LION CITY OF MALAYA

BY EDWARD SALMON

(Joint Editor, *United Empire*)

ON February 6, two years ago, Singapore celebrated its foundation as a free British port. The commemoration resolved itself, with rare propriety, into something more than the self-laudation of a busy hive of Eurasian enterprise and achievement. Singapore is naturally proud of its hundred years, during which it has developed from a collection of fisher huts on the site of the ancient port of T̄masek, or Singapura as the Indians called it, into one of the finest cities and ports in the world. But Singapore does not forget that it was the deliberate creation of a great and far-sighted man. To Raffles, and to Raffles alone, belongs the glory of securing Singapore for Britain, with the exception of Lord Hastings, then Governor-General at Calcutta. He had no official support, and even after he had unfurled the Union Jack, the smaller minds who objected were with difficulty prevented from robbing posterity of his priceless gift. Raffles must rank with Clive and Warren Hastings in any worthy record of British accomplishment in the East and his reward like theirs, was to be misrepresented, misunderstood, and traduced. Until some twenty years ago his name had passed into comparative obscurity. Mr Boulger's biography of him was followed by Mr Hugh E. Egerton's in the 'Builders of Greater Britain' Series—a series which helped to place more than one reputation in its proper Imperial perspective—and to-day it is the fault of the public, not of the student, if the remarkable life-story of Sir Stamford Raffles is not as familiar as that of Raleigh or Clive, of Wolfe or Cecil Rhodes.

Singapore's centenary celebrations were in effect a tribute to a man, the man who makes things possible for men. It was wisely decided to put the record of Singapore's century into book form,\* with chapters by local authorities, on her growth, her commerce, her law, her municipality, her sport, and her moral and material development. One admirable article by the Rev. William Cross describes Raffles the Man, and there is hardly a section of the history which does not refer one to Raffles. Two characteristics are outstanding. First, his masterly conception of the needs of the British Empire in Far Eastern waters, second his advanced and liberal-minded anticipation of the needs of the locality if it were to take its place and fulfil its destiny as a part of the Empire. In regard to Free Trade to Education and to those attributes which peculiarly distinguish the British Empire in the nineteenth century, Raffles was a pioneer in every sense of the word. On the Imperial side, as Mr. C. W. Darbshire and others show, he saved Britain from the consequences of official supineness at home. Whether he was in any way drawn to Singapore by a knowledge of its past there is nothing to indicate, what is certain is that he seized, as Mr. Darbshire says 'the enormous possibilities lying in the heart of that little Malay village. He dreamed of a great port to rival those of the Dutch, of a world-wide trade, of a gateway for the British Empire and, with what seems like the touch of a magician's wand, his dream came true.'

When a committee was appointed in 1918 to consider the best means of commemorating the centenary, it reported strongly in favour of a scheme of education, 'with a view to laying securely the foundations upon which a university may in course of time be established' and again the reference is back to Raffles, whose minute on the desirability of establishing a Malay college is quoted

"Education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be assured and its evils avoided, and in our

\* "One Hundred Years of Singapore" General Editors Walter Makepeace, F. J. I., Dr. G. E. Brooke M.A., and R. St. J. Braddell, B.A. London Murray 2 vols. 42s. net

connection with these countries it shall be our aim that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other shall be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement '

Such was the spirit in which Britain went about the world in the days when she was regarded by her European rivals as little better than a swashbuckler , she challenged their tyranny and set them an example , where she planted her flag she planted liberty and enlightenment, to her own profit and to the happiness of the people who came under her sway Malaya owes everything to the strict observance of the ideals foreshadowed by Raffles when he made Singapore British It were a fascinating subject for speculation as to what might have been the history of the Asiatic world east of the Indian Ocean if Raffles had never lived , Singapore s position as the sentinel site of the narrow seas must surely have been discovered in time—but by whom ? The Briton at home showed no anxiety to secure any such possession, and when we think of Java we can only conclude that in the fullness of time the Dutch would have realized all that Singapore stood for and made it their own accordingly The British Empire, as we know it, can no more be imagined to-day without Singapore than it can be thought of minus Quebec or Gibraltar or the Cape

And of the future ? On what will Singapore be able to look back when she celebrates her second centenary ? As she has realized much if not all that Raffles hoped for as she has gone ahead even faster than Sir Frank Swettenham predicted eighteen years ago, so she may eclipse the horoscope read for her by Mr A W Still, the Editor of the *Straits Times* in a brilliant penultimate chapter to this interesting book That Singapore is destined to become the great naval base of the East seems fairly certain Mr Still has a prevision, likely also to prove intelligent anticipation, that it will be a great base for ' ships which will wing the air in swift and graceful flight ' He has hopes that the errors of the past which menace the health of the population may give place to bold town planning in

the future, and that Singapore may emerge the model city of the East. Among other things, he would have "a clear and definite reservations law for the residential areas" in place of the indiscriminate alternation of human warrens and palatial hostelry, private residence and substantial warehouse. "The European quarter should be for Europeans, the Chinese quarter for Chinese, the Japanese quarter for Japanese, the Indian quarter for Indians. We are a cosmopolitan community, and our great object must be to live together in perfect harmony, respecting each other's customs and prejudices, not thrusting each upon the other but frankly acknowledging that one man's meat may be another man's poison and that what pleases one may distress another. But it must be remembered always that *salus populi est suprema lex*." And then, in keeping with developments elsewhere, he foresees Malaya moving towards

representative self-government." "It would be rash, perhaps, to say that we are already ripe for the great change but the time is not far distant when we shall be ready, and I do fervently hope that, guided by the great instinct which is surer than cold reason, the Imperial Government will offer us the rights of freemen before they are clamoured for in anger or in discontent. So Mr. Still would have Singapore become an example of how far East and West may harmonize. "We have a hundred years of splendid prosperity behind us a future which is glowing with hope wealth enough to realize our most ambitious dreams, brains enough to mingle prudence in just proportion with enterprise." May Mr. Still prove a true prophet of the Lion City!

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### MEDICINE IN INDIA

By DR CECIL WEBB JOHNSON

IT has been said that a speech or a paper should be like a lady's dress—long enough to cover the subject and short enough to be interesting "Medicine in India" comprises in itself a subject of no inconsiderable magnitude, and I shall be able in the time at my disposal only to touch the fringes of the subject

Hindu medicine is not only of great interest on account of its antiquity, but because many of its principles taught centuries ago, are sound and are followed to-day to the advantage of the community at large

According to the esoteric doctrine of Hinduism, first propounded in the 'Rig Veda' the Universe was originally soul only, and the origin of creation proceeded from Brahma the supreme Spirit, for in Hinduism Brahma is the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer

The Aryans brought with them into India all the habits and ideas of the Northern people, including the eating of horseflesh and beef, and the drinking of fermented liquor—the soma juice, or nectar of the gods To trace the habits and customs of the inhabitants of India to the present time is not the object of this paper but much that has been handed down from generation to generation must be taken into consideration in discussing the subject at issue

Whether a man can practise Hindu medicine depends upon his caste, and invariably the profession of physician is handed down from father to son, for the Hindu physician is born, not made

Hindu medicine teaches that there are three all-pervading

forces or humours in the body, and that as long as they are in a state of equilibrium the body remains in health

The oldest medical book of the Hindus is the "Ayur Veda," or "The Science of Life," and is founded on the "Rig Veda."

In that huge encyclopaedic epic of Hinduism, the "Mahabharata," composed over fifteen hundred years before Christ it is written 'The ducts leading from the heart go up, down, and in transverse directions, they transport the best juices of the food'

In all probability Hippocrates took his humoral theory from the Hindus, as the "Rig Veda" was written over two thousand years before Christ. Hindu physicians have made a special study of the effect of the seasons and the influence of the sun and moon on plants, as well as the time they take to grow and the exact period at which they should be gathered. Having extracted the juices from the plants, they classify them as either hot or cold in power according to the influence of the sun and moon, and in this hot and cold theory they were followed by Galen, the Greek physician. They hold that from January to June the heat of the sun sucks up the juices giving them heating properties, and from June to December the sun's rays produce a cooling effect on plants.

In India the rays of the moon are very powerful, and play an important part in the development of the active principles of various plants. Plants growing in the Himalayas and elsewhere are said to possess peculiar medicinal properties, and certain mosses gathered from a height of 16,200 feet are made use of in certain oils for the cure of cases of paralysis and insanity.

Mercury was regarded as the elixir of life, and iron, silver, gold, diamonds, turquoise, and topaz were included in the Hindu *Materia Medica*. Hindu physicians have been noted for their skill in the treatment of snake-bites from the time of Alexander the Great.

Although the Kaviraj, or Hindu practitioner, is really a

physician, the early Hindu medical works describe many surgical instruments for rhinoplasty, or the formation of new noses, skin grafting trephining litholapaxy, and the removal of cataract.

Susruta, one of the earliest authorities on surgery, describes treatment by caustics instruments, and the actual cautery

The employment of hypnotism is recorded at a very remote age, and this is only natural, for the Hindu physician devoted himself to the psychic as well as the physical side of life.

In the "Mahabharata" it is written "There are two classes of diseases bodily and mental. Each arises from the other of a truth mental disorders arise from physical ones and likewise physical disorders from mental ones. If only the Western practitioner would study psychotherapy and apply it in the treatment of cases of nervous origin and so called *malades imaginaires*, Christian Scientists would have little to do as far as healing is concerned, for to consider such cases is beneath contempt and unworthy of serious, and sometimes prolonged, treatment, displays a lamentable ignorance of human nature and the effect of the mind on the body.

There is no pain or abnormal sensation in the body without a cause to account for it, and to dismiss such symptoms as imaginary without treating the patient to the best of one's ability, is neither honest to the patient nor a credit to the medical profession.

It is not always easy to find the cause of vague symptoms such as 'feeling rotten and below par,' 'lack of energy,' "a desire to scream the place down" 'throbings and pains in the head, but all physicians are consulted about such symptoms, and if they are honest they treat them. Such premonitory symptoms may prove to be the red flag warning us that there is danger ahead, perhaps Graves disease, nephritis, apoplexy or a nervous breakdown.

Professor Murray, writing in the *British Medical*

*Journal* a couple of months ago, points out that in Graves' disease, before the appearance of any well-recognized symptom of the malady, there is for a period extending into weeks, or even months, a constant feeling of fatigue and a restlessness and irritability of disposition which help the clever and observant physician to make an early and brilliant diagnosis. Any motorist knows that, on occasion, his car is not getting off well, pulling well, or starting well. He cannot find the reason himself. The motor engineer who is consulted says he can find nothing wrong with the car, and sends it back again in the same unsatisfactory condition. The owner consults a more painstaking expert, who finds some small defect, or some slight adjustment necessary, and returns the car in perfect working order. It is needless to say which of these two engineers would be consulted in future, and it is very much the same in the human body. If a person is not feeling well there must be something wrong in the human machinery, and the man who takes infinite pains to find the cause and rectify the mistake is the physician who will prove successful.

The Hindus had remarkable views on the treatment of pregnant women and those who are interested in ante natal clinics will hardly agree with the following advice. "Before the child's birth the mother should be allowed, as far as possible, anything she desires, lest as a result of not gratifying her wishes, the babe be malformed or deficient in any faculty."

According to Susruta, the partaking of unsuitable diet by a pregnant woman, or the refusal to grant any of her wishes, is one of the seven causes of all the diseases of manhood.

The Hindus have also made a special study of hydropathy, by examining the waters of their lakes, rivers, wells, and springs, and they teach that too hot a bath is harmful for the eyes, and that those afflicted with any impairment of vision should refrain from bathing.

Another peculiar belief they have is that, when washing, cold water should be added to hot, not hot to cold.

Physical culture and breathing exercises, massage, anointing the whole body with oil before bathing and the rubbing of oil into the soles of the feet, are recommended as aids to the preservation of health and longevity. One of their proverbs is "He that is devoid of wisdom desireth much food," and they consider that no person should partake of more than two meals in the twenty-four hours. As fully half the diseases met with are caused by injudicious, unsuitable, and over feeding, it is a pity that this proverb is not taken to heart more in Europe. Cleansing the teeth and washing the mouth after meals is insisted upon, and a short walk after meals is recommended as an aid to digestion, followed by a rest on the left side.

As sleep is life's chief nourisher the Hindus have made a special study of the subject and they consider that sleep on an empty stomach is most conducive to tranquillity of mind, and they teach peculiar modes of breathing in cases of insomnia.

So much, then, for the purely Hindu system of medicine, which must not be confused with the Hakimi or Moslem system, which is also prevalent in India, but which time does not permit me to discuss to day.

The introduction of Western ideas of sanitation, prophylaxis, and treatment into so vast a country as India must, of necessity be gradual, for custom dies hard and the sacredness of all life is a principle of the Jain faith as it is with the Buddhist. We cannot afford to overlook the fly on the chariot-wheel of civilization, for flies, mosquitoes, rats, fleas, and bugs are the chief carriers of disease in the tropics.

The Hindu peasant is as confirmed an idolater as the Moslem is iconoclast, and sprinkling with Ganges water throwing of sacrificial flowers and oblations of rice, are still the order of the day.

Although nowadays, the laws of Manu are not observed strictly, many Indian customs and superstitions must die before the rates of mortality and morbidity fall to a reasonable level.

Vaccination is more potent than Sitala, the Goddess of Smallpox, and the belief that she would be offended were Agni, the God of Fire, to drive her from her habitation must be eradicated

The uneducated Indian must be taught that cleanliness is next to godliness and not next to impossible, as it is with so many of them, and that frequent bathing of the body in filthy water is not sufficient to ensure good health

Far more important is scrupulous cleanliness in the preparation and cooking of their food and sanitation in their homes, whether they be mud huts or busties

We must neither be downhearted nor discouraged at the slowness of our progress but must remember that all measures for the good of the people have to run the gauntlet of abuse before reaching the goal of popularity

From the loom of time a web has been spinning incessantly, with science and research for its warp and woof, and the knowledge we possess to-day with all its inestimable benefits is the result

If we succeed in spreading this knowledge and produce a healthy and virile race we shall have at least the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted according to our lights and have not betrayed our trust as governors of India

In tracing Western medicine in India we must go back to the days when such men as John Banester and Lewis Attmer were the surgeons on the ships *Lancaster* and *The Edward*, in the employ of the East India Company. In 1607 Lawrence Pegien was hired as surgeon for the ship *Ascension* at £1 13s 4d per month with £17 to furnish his chest to sea with Thomas Yonger as surgeon's mate at £1 per month

In 1614 Surgeon-General Woodall was appointed to the East India Company at a salary of £20 a year, increasing to £30

In his history of Bengal Stewart relates that in 1636 a daughter of Shah Jehan was burnt by her clothes

setting on fire, and an express was sent to Surat for the assistance of a European surgeon

Gabriel Broughton, surgeon to the ship *Hopwell*, was nominated by the council at Surat to proceed at once to the Emperor's camp in the Dekkan, and he was successful in effecting a cure. When asked to name his own reward he solicited, in a patriotic manner, that his nation might have the liberty of trading, free of all duties, in Bengal, and establish factories in that country. His request was acceded to, and this was the origin of the first settlement of the East India Company in Bengal. This makes a very pretty story, but unfortunately Stewart is not supported by facts, as it was Anitulla, the famous hakim of the time, who was summoned from Lahore and cured the princess.

In 1711 William Hamilton, surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne* deserted his ship and arrived at Calcutta, where he was appointed second surgeon to the settlement. Later, he treated the King at Delhi so successfully that he was presented with an elephant, a horse, five thousand rupees in money, two diamond rings, a jewelled aigrette, a set of gold buttons, and models of all his instruments in gold. When, however, the King requested Hamilton to remain with him as his medical attendant he politely but firmly refused the offer. The Vizier made a pathetic appeal to the King for permission for Hamilton to depart, and the King's reply is of great interest, as showing what a high regard he had for the doctor. Speaking of Hamilton he said "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very fain have kept him and given him whatsoever he should have asked, but seeing he cannot be brought on any terms to be content, I agree it, and on condition that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children, he returns to visit the Court once more, let him go."

In 1732 John Howell arrived in Calcutta as surgeon's mate of the *Duke of Cumberland*. Twenty years later he

was appointed Zemindar of Calcutta, which position he held until the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. When Roger Drake deserted the garrison Howell was chosen unanimously to take his place, and subsequently he was one of the prisoners in the Black Hole. Being the highest in rank of the twenty-three survivors, he was sent in chains by the Nawab to Murshidabad. He must have possessed the constitution of an ox, for after surviving the horrors of the Black Hole, the journey in chains to Murshidabad during the rains, and twenty eight years' service in India, he lived in England for thirty-eight years after his retirement, and died at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

In 1745 William Fullerton arrived in Calcutta, and in 1757 he was Mayor. In 1760 he was the only officer to survive when the Emperor Shah Alam made war upon the Nawab of Bengal at Patna. His life in India seems to have been full of adventures for, in spite of Vansittart's recommendation that he should not be allowed to return to India, he was surgeon to the Patna Agency in 1763, and in the same year he was the only survivor of the force to which he belonged in the Patna massacre.

He was really the first officer of the Indian Medical Service, as he was Senior Surgeon in Bengal in 1764.

As one more example of the hardships which medical men in India have undergone in the past it will be recollected that Surgeon William Brydon was the only man who made his way through to Jalahabad in the retreat from Kabul.

The total strength of the Indian Medical Service in 1861 was 819, but in 1913 it only reached 770, showing a decrease of about 6 per cent.

The division of the I M S into two separate services, military and civil, has been tried on several occasions, but such separation was found to be impracticable and the two services were reunited.

Officers of the I M S are primarily military officers, and

those in civil employ are only lent temporarily for civil duty, forming a reserve for the Indian Army, and they are liable to recall to military duty when emergency demands it.

The right of I M S officers to take private practice was acknowledged definitely in 1773, and there is much competition nowadays for civil appointments in the Presidency towns.

In 1901, owing to abuses, regulations were issued, including one that when any fee exceeding two thousand rupees was charged for attendance on any native noble or chief, a reference was required to the Government of India, and these rules were resented by many officers as casting a slur on the Service as a whole.

The Indian Medical Service is passing, gradually but surely, from the hands of the English into those of the Indians, and it is very doubtful if any British will be left in the Service in twenty or thirty years time. From 1855 to 1913 only 109 Indians took commissions in the I M S, yet in 1913, at the entrance examination, the list was headed by 3 Indians, and during the war many temporary commissions were granted to Indians, and the London schools have ever-increasing numbers on their lists. British medical men have a brilliant record in India, and the services have produced such men as Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, Colonel Fryer, Colonel Elliot, and many others too numerous to mention.

To-day the question is, What is to become of the medical services in India? for there is great difficulty in obtaining suitable candidates for the I M S in spite of increased pay, pension, and better conditions of service. It is only natural that the best men should prefer to stay at home, amongst their friends and relations and surrounded by all the amenities, comforts, and culture which Western civilization has produced. It is a great hardship for a man to be posted to some mofussil station where he is cut off completely from all art, especially if he is fond of music, the drama, the opera, etc. It is not the climate that frightens men, for,

according to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, I M S officers in India incur little more risk to life and health than they do at home, as is proved by the number of men who have put in twenty years' service in India, retired, and lived to over eighty

Three members of the Bengal Medical Service, as a matter of fact, lived to over one hundred years

Nor can it be the pay and pension which deter men from joining the service, for both are higher than any other in the Colonies or at home

Although the Service should appeal to any young man without the necessary capital to start at home, and to the man who has no great ambition to shine in the medical world in England, the fact remains that in spite of greatly improved conditions of service no adequate response has been given to the recent appeal for recruits.

I have discussed the question, both in India and at home with I M S officers and young medical men, and the only conclusion that I can come to is that they all fear the future. It cannot be denied that the average Englishman objects to the possibility of being a junior officer under Indians. Another great objection to the Service is the liability of being moved at a moment's notice, perhaps on the whim or personal feelings of those senior to himself, for a brilliant junior who is more popular and sought after than his senior is always in an invidious position. One can imagine the feelings of a man who has been at the Eden Hospital for two years being transferred to some station where all his obstetric and gynecological experience and skill are wasted.

To me the saddest time for the retired service man is when he returns home, to find that after being a very big man in India he is nobody at all in England. His quondam friends are dead or scattered over the country, his children hardly know him, he has no home or good London club, and is very often quite out of touch with present day England. I have met scores of such men lately, living in

rooms, boarding-houses, or small hotels in Cromwell Road, absolutely at a loss, and not knowing how to pass their time The only way to avoid this appears to me to be to grant more frequent and longer leave

To try and remove grievances and jealousies the Verney and Esher Committees issued Reports in 1919, but as they did not agree, nothing very definite has happened to encourage men to join the service

The Verney-Lovett Report framed a scheme for the formation of an Indian Medical Corps, which would take the place of the I M S and do the work now done by the R A M C in India, but the Esher Report rejected the scheme as impracticable, as it would exclude permanently from India the R A M C , to the detriment of the British troops and the R A M C officers themselves Also it was pointed out that such a scheme of unification would open the R A M C to Indians

Another scheme put forward was that the R A M C should undertake all the military work and the I M S confine themselves to civil , but such a course was condemned as making for inefficiency, and, further, the breaking up of a service with such fine traditions as the I M S had gained in the past Still another scheme suggested was that both the R A M C and the I M S should be retained, but that the latter should be split up into two separate services, the one serving the Indian Army and the other the civil population The main objection to this was that it entailed a loss of from three hundred to four hundred medical officers with military training, who could be called upon in an emergency

Like all destructive critics, they themselves could not suggest any better scheme and had no constructive policy to recommend

That in the past there has been a considerable amount of friction and jealousy between officers of the R A M C and I M S cannot be denied, and I saw a great deal of it during the war in Calcutta, Darjeeling, and other stations.

Much of this appears to be due to the fact that, although it is laid down definitely in King's Regulations that R.A M C officers are at liberty to do consulting and private practice in their spare time, many I M S officers in civil employ resent such intrusion into what they, quite wrongly, consider to be their private preserves

The Lovett Report concluded that if a good class of British candidate is to be attracted to the medical service in India, that service must partake of a mixed career, including military, civil, professorial, sanitary, and research work

During the war the domestic and financial arrangements of many I M S officers were severely dislocated, and many complaints were made by them that they were compelled to live on their savings or private money for several years during the war. As, however, they were all aware of their liability to be recalled from civil to military duty, it is hard to see in what respect their case is harder than that of hundreds of medical men at home who voluntarily left lucrative practices on the first day of the war and remained on duty for five years on a miserly R.A M C captain's pay. Such men returned to find that other men, less patriotic than themselves, had taken their practices during their absence on military duty, and they themselves in addition to the financial loss they had sustained, were compelled to start again and make new practices. The I M S officers, on the other hand, returned to their various posts, certain pay, and pensions. Like the profiteers, the medical men who stayed at home feathered their own nests at the expense of those who went away, and if this is any consolation to them they are welcome to it.

There is, at the present time, a wave of discontent amongst all medical men in India connected with the various services, and there is little doubt that the status and pay of the assistant surgeons and the sub-assistant surgeons should be improved.

That Indian medical men are far from satisfied is proved

by the following resolution, passed in October, 1920, at Lucknow "That in view of the adverse attitude of the Esher and Lovett Committees and a continued disregard shown by the authorities towards the interests of the Indian medical profession, under the influence of interested parties, the Association strongly advises the Indian medical profession not to meet in consultation any member of the Indian Medical Service." Such a resolution cannot be ignored nor treated lightly, for enmity and jealousy between Indian medical practitioners and I M S officers can but recoil on the medical profession as a whole

Personally I have never been able to understand jealousy between medical practitioners, for there is plenty of room for all to make a good living, and in all paths of life some men are successful and others are failures. Unsuccessful men are always conceited, rarely giving credit for any merit or exceptional ability to those who are successful, forgetting that, unlike business, success in a profession depends upon one's own efforts. Jealousy is the one blot on the escutcheon of the medical profession, and until it is wiped out it can but do harm.

In addition to the work accomplished by medical men in India, a great deal is being done by lay workers in the way of instruction on methods of sanitation and child welfare.

Lady Chelmsford, President of the All India Maternity League, in a speech the other day, remarked "A movement for child welfare explains itself in a few words. It is an effort to ensure that, as far as conditions and environment are concerned, every child in this great land gets its fair chance, and has nothing to reproach its fellow countrymen with." The League aims at improving the care and treatment of the mother and the proper management of the child during infancy. The objects of the League are threefold.

(1) To train and qualify persons to undertake the work of health visitors.

(2) To educate the public by means of lectures and health exhibitions.

(3) To assist with grants towards the part payment of the health visitors in the poorer districts.

All health visitors can speak of the abject and extreme poverty of the large majority of Indians, and they will act as the almoners of the general public who subscribe to the fund, and use discrimination in meting out charity. The day has passed when the subject can be dismissed by saying that the children are better dead. The spirit of the age demands a more humanitarian and Christianlike attitude. The children of a nation are its greatest asset, and in this connection the proper training and registration of midwives plays an important part. The *dar*, like Sarah Gamp, must go, and the properly trained midwife take her place. Medical inspection of school children, followed up by home visiting, will do a great deal to stamp out ignorance and superstition. Exhibitions are being held all over India, and include propaganda work for the enlightenment of an extremely backward community, out of touch with modern sanitation and child welfare work. In addition, there is the teaching of physical culture, and in more advanced centres the pathological section is the most prominent feature of the exhibition.

Not only for the sake of the submerged classes, but for the protection of the Europeans and educated Indians, is it essential to inculcate into the minds of the masses modern ideas of sanitation, for the sweeper's child, dying of smallpox or cholera, in his insanitary bustie may be the cause of the spread of the disease to the educated and wealthy classes in the immediate vicinity.

Indian medical men and scientists are beginning to awake to the fact that they themselves must try to give the lead by research, study, and writings. Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose has made his name famous by his discovery of the crescograph, an apparatus for measuring the growth of plants, by means of which the highest

powers of the microscope are magnified 100,000 times. He has established also the fundamental unity of life-reactions between plants and animals, proving that the heart-beat of animals is simulated by spontaneous pulsation in certain plants, and that the effects of anaesthetics, poisons, and stimulants in animal and vegetable tissues are identical, and, further, that the death spasm occurs in both

Works like Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari's "Kala Azar," Rai Bahadur Jaising Modi's "Elements of Hygiene" and "Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology," and Das's "Midwifery," prove that Indian medical men are alive to the importance of writing on subjects of medical interest, particularly in regard to India. For example, medical jurisprudence in India presents special difficulties, such as early decomposition, methods of disposal of the dead, concealment, and false testimony, and the dominance of *dastoor*, or custom, though such customs as widow burning, leper burial, infanticide, road poisoning, and human sacrifice are almost obsolete

The raising of the age of consent and the discouragement of premature marriages have diminished the number of cases of rape of children and other sexual offences

Gradually, as knowledge of sanitation spreads to the meanest village, cases of disease and epidemics will diminish in both number and severity. No longer will it be possible, on approaching a mud hut, to be assailed by odours more offensive than those that greeted Falstaff's nostrils when he was covered up in the basket

India will recover from its present state of unrest, and Attila's horn will flow over with plenty. The uplifting of women will follow in due course. Indian medical men, educated in Europe, and conversant with all the latest scientific knowledge, will be the custodians of their country's health, and carry out, I feel confident, their work according to the highest traditions of the most noble of all professions.

They will recognize that prevention is better than cure,

and that patients are not like machines, all to be treated alike, and give due regard to each person's individuality, recognize idiosyncrasies, and finally remember that in treating the body the mind must never be forgotten nor neglected. Tact, cleanliness, sympathy, firmness where necessary, a good memory, and suggestion will play an important part in the treatment of the cases under them. The highest qualification will be of little avail without them, for one of the essentials for success is the gaining of the patient's confidence.

The medical man in India who wishes to do good and useful work will do well to remember that no complaint of a patient is too trivial to be ignored, and further that a patient knows better than a doctor exactly what he feels.

He must agree with Mr E B Havell that Indian philosophy has always discriminated between intuitional or divinely inspired wisdom and that which is acquired by training and experience, and the former has always been held in the higher plane.

Our Indo-Aryan brothers have perhaps more than most Britons that deep veneration for true knowledge which has always been characteristic of the Aryan race.

They recognize in modern European scientific research, so far as it is disinterested and not prostituted for base purposes, the culmination of the quest which their own divinely inspired *rishis* followed for thousands of years, and they desire eagerly to have the doors of this new temple of Sarasvati opened to them.

Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century, though they failed completely to understand the predominance of Aryan inspiration in Indian art and to recognize natural art as a key to the true interpretation of history, at least firmly grasped the essential truth that before the Moslem invasions, if not afterwards, it was Aryan culture which gave India its high place amongst the civilizations of the world and inspired its greatest intellectual achievements.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, January 24, 1921, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S W, at which a paper was read by Dr Cecil Webb Johnson, entitled "Medicine in India". Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, K C B, K C M G, F R S, was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir John G Cumming, K C I E, C S I, Sir William Ovens Clark Major-General Chamier, C B, C I E, Mr A Porteous, C I E, Mr F H Brown, C I E, Mr E H Man, C I E, Colonel W G King, C I E, I M S (retired), Lieutenant Colonel F W Wright, D S O, I M S (retired), and Mrs Wright, Dr A Castellani, C M G, M D, L R C P, Lieutenant Colonel R H Elliott, M B, I M S (retired), Lieutenant Colonel C L Swaine, M D, I M S (retired), Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Ross, Mrs Stanley Rice, Mrs Cecil Webb-Johnson, Dr L. Fink, Dr Augustine, Dr T A S Narayan, M B, Mr M S Sirdar, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mrs Tracey, Mrs A M T Jackson, Dr Alice Pennell, Lieutenant Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr B C Vaidya, Mr and Mrs John Kelsall, Mr A E Todd, Mr N Walmsley, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss H M Howsin, Mr H L Leach, Mr F J P Richter, Miss Fielding, Mr Wyman, Miss Allwork, Miss Mart, Dr and Mrs Prankherd, Mr H R. J Hemming the Rev W I Broadbent, Mrs Drury, Mr J Procter Watson, Mr R H H Cust, Dr F Mayadas and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask Dr Cecil Webb-Johnson to read his address.

The paper was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN We will now go on to the discussion whilst these matters are fresh in our minds, and I should very much like to ask Colonel King, who is here, and who was a great Sanitary Commissioner in India for many years, to make some remarks.

Colonel W G KING Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I regret I have not anticipated the honour of being called upon to speak on the subject now before you, and, consequently, fear my remarks may prove of no aid in discussion. I can do little more than congratulate the lecturer upon the able way in which he has treated the numerous subjects he has touched upon. Within the confines of a single paper, it doubtless has not been possible for him to enter into much detail. I notice, however he has made a statement as to sanitation in India which is open to discussion.

He apparently holds that all that is requisite to secure adequate sanitary effort in that country is that by academic education the people should be induced to accept in theory such and such principles, and thereafter

sanitation would follow. In this, he but follows opinions which have guided the policy of the Government of India for several years, and were afforded special emphasis at the Delhi Durbar. Indeed, educational optimists have during the last forty years insisted on supplying cheap education broadcast as the panacea for all real or fancied difficulties in placing India in the front rank of civilized countries.

Under this impetus, the Universities of India have of late provided about 2,000 learned graduates per annum. Theoretically, such continuous outturn of masses of educated men—for even the "failed B.A." must be so regarded—should have caused the mineral resources of the country to be utilized, have created great organizations to secure new markets for India's raw products, by encouraging manufactoryes have conduced to the prosperity of the industrial classes, and, both by example and precept have abolished those social and ceremonial customs which, by rendering whole families the mere slaves of the sowcar, cramp any possibility of individual effort and economic advance of the country.

The educational optimist, however, did not allow for the influence of caste which has effectually checked the spread of education to the "untouchables," nor for the peculiar social and caste disabilities of women, nor for the fact that the theories of Mill and Spencer taught in College life are of little use in practice, unless they be tempered by a knowledge gained in after years of the ever changing political and financial conditions prevailing in a world of which India is but a unit. Such knowledge is to be gained by constant reference to current journalistic and general literature products, but of these the young graduate, ever concerned with the burden of premature family affairs, sees little or nothing. The result has been the creation, in the midst of many able and distinguished Indians, of a number of narrow minded "extremists," who have endeavoured to apply to a unit of an Empire principles which would be scoffed by a rural council of any civilized country.

As to the influence of education *per se* on sanitation, I may say I have served over a generation in the Madras Presidency (population 41,405,404), where, preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, since 1882, hygiene of both elementary and advanced grades has been taught, and examinations have been instituted by Government. By 1894 the employment of none but sanitary inspectors qualified by a very high grade of technical education and examination was rendered compulsory for all local bodies—preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, with the exception of the City of London. But, in the midst of many years of sanitary duty demanding intimate (and, I may add, pleasant) contact with all classes of Indians, I found no reason to believe that the many hundreds of men who have passed public examinations in hygiene since 1882 had shown initiative in impressing their beliefs in practice on their less favoured neighbours, whereas, in the case of sanitary inspectors (of whom over 600 exist) who had acquired in addition to their theoretical education a practical training in sanitary benefits, their influence in inducing sanitary action amongst their countrymen was of great value. With the uneducated the same beneficial influence of practical demonstration, as against mere

theoretical knowledge, was also obviously operative I found that, provided no injury be done to caste feelings, the uneducated classes are no less appreciative and grateful for benefits derived from executed sanitary works than the educated In short, whilst academic education is a valuable coadjutor of sanitation (and one which I do not in the slightest wish to deprecate), there is no reason to pause in the execution of public sanitary works—major or minor—till its influence has declared itself by the birth of a general desire by the Indian public to follow sanitary dictates, which has been the guiding principle in Indian administration Yet, in the midst of preventable diseases causing year by year huge mortality, the educational optimists have allotted for sanitation funds which are a mere *placebo* in reference to comparative necessities, whilst to education have been allotted funds greater than the rate of spending capabilities Perusal of the Budget debate of 1913-14 in the Viceregal Council, and in the Legislative Council of the Government of Madras, shows that when pressed by the education panacea party to place more funds at disposal, these Governments declared that the amounts already allotted under that head were greater than the bodies concerned had been able to spend.

Alluding to this disproportionate allotment of funds sanctioned by the Government of India, in my paper of July, 1914, read before this Association, I stated as follows "Obviously, the brainy men of the Education Department are obeying Gladstone's indication to 'mak sicca' They are bent on ear marking all possible funds by steady additions to recurring grants from Imperial, provincial, and local sources It requires no prophet to say, therefore that sanitation which is fed on 'doles' during exceptional prosperity must be checked in progress in the presence of war, famine or trade depression whilst Education will sail gaily on The Government of India doubtless knows where Education is leading them financially but it is remarkable that no forecast of the cost of expansion under the present educational policy has been made public In the meantime *Education threatens funds for the defence of the country and its railway expansion* \* [Italics not in original] This forecast (written a month before the declaration of war) has indeed been lamentably verified in the regrettable mortality and needless suffering which occurred in the Mesopotamia campaign Responsible officers in the field have been crushed for this and that shortcoming, but nothing has been heard of the financial short sightedness which sent an army to the field with medical equipment and accessories which had to share the chances of multiplication, renewal, or modernization in that less than 1 per cent increase against the 78 per cent for education—already grossly disproportionately financed

The SECRETARY If I may be allowed to say a few words I would like

\* "The growth in our total spending has been, as I have mentioned, from £73 1 millions to £79 3 millions, or 6½ per cent Within these totals, however, expenditure on education has risen from £1,705,000 to £3,043,000, or by 78 per cent, and on medical and sanitary services from £968,000 to £1,683,000, or by 73 per cent During the same time the growth in police expenditure has been only 10 per cent, and on military services it has been less than 1 per cent' [Italics not in original]

to point out that I have noticed in the Indian papers for this week that a Women's Conference has been held in Madras, and I think it is a very great step forward. It was held under the presidency of Mr S. Srinivasa Iyengar, and the subjects which were discussed were such questions as child welfare and kindred affairs. I think the women of Madras are to be congratulated on the fact that they have now come forward to discuss such matters as these, and I believe it is absolutely unique in India as far as I am aware.

Dr CASTELLANI said he would like to associate himself with Colonel King in congratulating the lecturer on his most interesting paper. It was a great pleasure to listen to a paper which was not only interesting but very suggestive—a paper that made one think. He fully agreed with Dr Webb-Johnson when he said there were some very good points in Indian native medicine, and in native medicine in general. He was for many years in practice in Africa and Ceylon, and he came to the conclusion that it was very unwise on the part of European doctors to continually ridicule native methods of treatment, and despise completely the use of native drugs. They had only to remember that one of the very few drugs which was a specific, namely quinine, was for hundreds of years a native drug, and that for a very long time many European doctors refused to use it.

Colonel ELLIOTT said the lecturer had touched on so many points that it was really impossible to follow him. One agreed with many things, and profoundly disagreed with other things which he had said, but he would try to keep to the things with which he agreed. (No no.)

He would like to say that any view of the future with regard to India must be Imperial. Anything less than that would be suicidal to the greatest Empire the sun had ever shone upon, and to bring up such petty questions as had been recently brought up—not by the lecturer—was a great mistake. During the five years he had the honour to be Chairman of the Naval and Military Committee he was supposed to have been identified with the interests of the I M S. He had never identified himself solely with the interests of the I M S., but he had endeavoured to associate himself with the interests of India, and with the interests of medical men (Hear, hear). The one great idea in this connection of the British Medical Association had been and is What is the best for India? (Hear, hear). One looked to the future, and one wondered what it was going to be. Very few could be optimists when they looked at that future, but if there was to be any optimism, if there was to be any hope for Medicine in India, it would be brought about by those in authority putting aside all such twopenny questions as the so-called rival interests of the R. A. M. C. and the I M S. on the opposite side of Whitehall. They had to do the best they could for the Empire for which they were responsible, and to take no account of smaller matters.

Then another thing he would like to say, and he had told both the Royal Commissions so, it had not been very acceptable evidence, but he would say it again, and he would go on saying it as long as he lived, namely, that the time had not yet come to relax the European hold on India (Hear, hear). He would say that as a Service the I M S. had

been an inspiration to the young medical men of India, and the time had not yet come to take that inspiration away from them. He had told Mr Montagu so, and he had told everyone so who was connected with the Commission, or with whom he had had to deal in his official connection with the B M A. To take away European control from India would be a set-back to the clock of progress, it would stop scientific advance, and it would be an act of enmity to India and to the Indian medical man himself. Those were great Imperial questions. They should consider what was best for the people, and then, having done that, they should see how best it could be done. But when they had done all that, at the present time they might not be able to get the class of men they wanted in India. It was no use getting second-class men, they wanted the very best men, men with the scientific drive behind them, and men who would go out there and be absolutely whole hearted to make the science of medicine progress. The man who simply went out there to scrape together rupees, and then to come back to wait on a golf course for a coffin, would never do any good to the people or to the country. They wanted the man who was out to learn, and, having learnt, to teach. The whole of the East was one great tangle of important medical questions, and there was work for all. There was an enormous amount of work yet to be done. He wondered how many of those present had ever thought that there were 600,000 persons lying submerged in villages in India, blind whom they were taking no care of, and no thought for. One gentleman asked him the other day at the Royal Commission if he had ever thought of the expense, and he replied "For God's sake do not talk of expense. That was not the question. On one occasion he had asked for a miserable 10,000 rupees so that he might equip a great ophthalmic hospital, the better to teach Indian medical men to do something towards helping these people, and he was refused this sum by a Government which was able to return a huge balance to the Government of India, but which lacked the vision and the statesmanship to spend a small part of it then.

In his opinion the average civilian and the average administrator in India had not yet woke up to their responsibilities towards Medicine. Those 600,000 people could be and ought to be reached. If you were able to send men out into the country and bring medicine, and healing, and sight to the doors of the people in those far flung villages, you would be saving a large mass of people for whom this country is responsible. In his own Presidency he had asked permission to have medical men down to his hospital in batches, so that he might train them in ophthalmic work. The men wanted to come, but the Government said they could not afford to do it. That was the spirit which was actuating too many of those in positions of responsibility. They needed to wake up the Government of India, and they must get people to think of these things. He was thinking of the great mass of submerged blind people who might be made into useful citizens by a little organization and work. It was necessary to talk straight out to Governments, and he wanted to say that, in his opinion, the Government of India were not doing their duty to Medicine in India. They were spending money, and spending it well, on all kinds of other

things, but let them at the same time put their backs into it and do something much bigger for Medicine and Sanitation (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Miss SCATCHARD said she would like to read an extract from a letter which she had received from Dr Pollen about the subject of the lecture, in which he took a great interest "I have read with very great interest the excellent paper Dr Cecil Webb-Johnson is giving you on Monday. The tone throughout is admirable, and Dr Webb-Johnson is evidently one of the best. His heart is in the right place, and he understands India and his own work, and appreciates the deep veneration of his Indo-Aryan brothers for true knowledge and recognizes the Aryan culture which gave India its high place among the civilizations of the world.

"His words of warning about the wave of discontent rising at present amongst all medical men in India should be heeded, and he is profoundly right in deprecating jealousy between medical practitioners. There ought to be *emulation*, but no competition or jealousy—and seeing what a noble profession the medical is the private practitioner, the I M S and the R. A M C should work together for the good of all in the true spirit of brotherhood. There is room for all and plenty of good work to do. I feel quite certain, with Dr Webb Johnson that India will soon recover from its present state of unrest, and that with the uplifting of the Indian women a new era of prosperity will dawn upon the land."

Lady SCOTT MONCRIEF with reference to the statement of the lecturer that none but the best men should go out to India, said she would be glad to know if the same thing would hold good with regard to the great need they were often told of as to women doctors going out to India in larger numbers. So far as she understood there were likely to be a fair number of fairly well qualified young women ready to go out to India shortly, and she thought they ought not to be discouraged from going.

Dr ALICE PENNELL said the lecturer had left out of his address anything about women doctors. Perhaps that was because he did not know many in India, but in her opinion the work done by women doctors was one of the most important parts of the work done for the Empire. She was glad to say that in the Indian Women's Medical Service they had not yet got those jealousies which seemed very much to mar the Medical Service for men. Indian and English women were equally in the Service on the same footing. Neither had they had the difficulties of English women not wishing to serve under Indian women, and she hoped those days would never come. She hoped that perhaps women would prove to be better than men in that one little matter.

Talking about the best for India, if they had the best men then they ought to have the best women, they had no use for women who had been partly educated, just as they had no use for men who were not well qualified and who were not keen on science and on medicine as a science.

With regard to the question of sanitation, Colonel King had talked of teaching boys in the schools. It was true boys were taught in the schools, and they could even repeat whole chapters from their books on the

subject, but those same boys would go home where the grandmother and the mother who rule the house would absolutely discard all rules of sanitation, and the boys were helpless. The question had nothing to do with what they taught the boys, but it very much depended on what they taught the girls, the thing must get to the women and not only to the men, as the men had nothing to do with sanitation in Indian homes.

With regard to the question of getting medical men to go to India, if there was a dearth of English medical men, surely the remedy was that they should get decent Indian medical men and women, and for that the Indian Colleges must be better staffed. They must not simply have a man who was sent as Professor to a Medical College because he was not able to get on in his hospital but they should have men who were trained as teachers, professors whose profession was teaching. They should have good professors in the Medical Colleges in India, and then the people in India would have as good degrees there as in this country. At present most of them came to England, some few went to America and some to the Continent. If the Colleges in India were as good as they were in this country, and that could be done, they would not need to come to this country. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr MAYADAS said he would like to say a few words with regard to a point barely touched upon by the lecturer. It was a well known fact that they had many epidemics from time to time sweeping over India, and it seemed to him that many of the people were living from hand to mouth just on the starvation line, so that the slightest epidemic seemed to carry them off. Although that might not be directly connected with sanitation, it certainly was directly connected with a good deal of ill health in India. In his opinion there should be an inquiry into the economic condition of the people. Why was it they were always on the starvation level? Why did not they get enough food to eat? Then there was also another important consideration—namely, that industry was gaining ground in the large towns, and those semi-starved people were being attracted towards the large towns for employment. One could imagine the havoc that a disease like tuberculosis would create in the large towns when crowded industrial conditions got established.

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently there is no one else who wishes to speak, and it is now left to me to make a few remarks. I shall not keep you very long, because the other speakers have nearly all said exactly what I intended to say, especially Colonel Elliott, whose outspoken words I greatly approve, and with whom I largely agree. One of the speakers mentioned just now the economic condition of India. Of course that is very deplorable, but how are you going to improve it? It is one thing to talk of poverty in India and the widespread deprivation and famine there, but how are we to stop it? There appear to be too many people for the food available.

In my opinion, the principal medical question is the sanitary question throughout India, and closely connected with that is the question of scientific investigation. I agree with Colonel Elliott that it is not yet time to remove European control from India, for the sake of the Indians.

themselves. I am very fond of the Indians. I have lived in India for many years. My father was an Indian officer, and I was born in India and sent home from there. I have a great affection for the Indian people, they work hard, considering the climate, and they have a great sense of duty. Of course they have some faults, as everyone else has, but, in my opinion, the Indian people have to be reckoned with in the future, and we should do everything we can to get happiness for them—the greatest prosperity for the greatest number. I know that Herbert Spencer looked down upon that principle as the leading principle of politics, but I do not think that he proves his point, and I consider that the whole aim of Government should be to produce the greatest prosperity for the greatest number of people. When we substitute for this form of scientific politics (as it might be called)—the getting of prosperity for the people—when we substitute another form of politics, the politics that demands rights of one class against another class and all the rest of it, we sink to another level altogether. We must remember that India is a vast nation, an Empire in itself, and as soon as the controlling hand is removed there will be a great deal of disorder throughout that country. It is not time to remove the controlling hand at present.

When I was engaged in public sanitary work in Bangalore in India many years ago, I was engaged in reforming the sanitary conditions of the city, and there I saw a very great deal of the inner side of things. Some of the municipal commissioners there were most able men who looked after and attended carefully to the sanitary work. Others were idle, and were simply given to the ideas of politics and of political talk which are so popular nowadays, and which are not the same thing as "work". With regard to Colonel King, who is the greatest sanitary Commissioner India has ever had, and who has seen India really from behind the scenes and knows it intimately, I also agree with what he says.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the lecturer for a very suggestive and interesting lecture. He has covered much ground, from the time of ancient Hindoo medicine down to modern days and to the modern conditions of the Indian Medical Service, and so on. All these points are suggestive and interesting. That is what a lecture should be, and I should like in conclusion to propose a hearty vote of thanks to him, which I hope you will carry *en masse*.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The LECTURER, in response, said that there was little for him to reply to in regard to the comments which had been made on his paper. In the time at his disposal he had been able only to touch the fringes of many of the subjects discussed, and he could speak for hours on the I.M.S. and its future were he given the opportunity.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott, but unfortunately he had not helped him in his endeavour to discover a means of attracting suitable candidates for the I.M.S.

Lady Scott Moncrieff had asked if it mattered if only second-rate medical men were sent to India. In his opinion India expected the best, and if indifferent men were sent a great harm would be done to British

prestige, for Indians were apt to judge England by the men who came to India as representatives of England.

Mrs Alice Pennell had remarked that if England could not send their best men it would be better for Indians to run their own service.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott that the time was not ripe for such a state of affairs, and that was why he had tried to lead the discussion into the ways and means of attracting good and brilliant Englishmen to the Service. The amalgamation of the R.A M C and I M S into one Service had many advantages, but there were drawbacks to such a scheme. No one, he said, could fail to agree with Dr Castellani that many drugs like quinine were known in the East years before they were introduced into the Western Pharmacopeas.

There were drugs used in India to-day which might be introduced with advantage in England to-day. He did not agree with Colonel King that it was waste of time teaching the younger generation modern ideas of sanitation. It was disheartening work to teach and find little appreciable result or improvement, but they must be patient and not expect their efforts to bear fruit too quickly.

A wit had said that it required a surgical operation to drive a joke into a Scotchman's brain, and it might take generations to inculcate Western ideas into the brains of the ignorant Indians, but one must persevere and keep on "drumming it in". Just as drops of water falling on the hardest stone finally made an impression, so teaching by lectures, example, and demonstration must in time make their effect felt. He suggested that girls as well as boys should be taught modern ideas. Much work was being done in India by Indian women which would help to reduce the rates of mortality and morbidity.

He recollects when he was staying with the Bishop of Lucknow at Allahabad, that he was sent for in the middle of the night to give a demonstration on the technique of "Twilight Sleep". The medical officer was a Parsee lady who was very keen on her work and wished to be up to date. Colonel King had advocated a proper water supply throughout India, but in the present state of finances such an ideal state of affairs must be left for future generations to supply. At present the ignorant people must be taught to keep their wells protected and free from contamination. Finally he thanked the various speakers for their complimentary remarks, and especially Colonel Sir Ronald Ross for so kindly taking the chair. He still hoped there would be found a means of attracting good men from the British Isles to the Indian Medical Service. (Applause.)

The SECRETARY said that he congratulated himself and those present on the fact that Colonel Ross had consented to come and preside over the meeting. There was nobody who combined more than he did a knowledge both of India and Medicine, and he thought their hearty thanks were due to him for coming.

(The proceedings then terminated)

## CRIME AND POLICE IN INDIA

BY SIR JOHN G. CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A.

THE wise and witty Sydney Smith wrote about a century ago that the object of all government was roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable, an honest justice, a clear highway and a free chapel in other words, a good standard of living, the maintenance of law and order, an impartial judiciary, easy transportation and religious toleration. Now in all discussions of the functions of government security of life and property is accepted as one of the fundamental this means the maintenance of law and order, and includes the prevention and detection of crime. Owing to the geographical, political and ethnical conditions of India this duty of the maintenance of law and order has been in the past pre-eminently incumbent on the central government as established by law in India, and never was it of greater importance than now when powerful disintegrating forces are at work, and when the transfer of certain branches of administration to indigenous responsibility has not in the least diminished the responsibility of the Indian Government to the British Parliament for the remaining branches which include the function of maintaining internal security.

The agency for exercising this function is the police force, and it is extremely necessary to realize what are the duties imposed on that force in India. In order to avoid misconception it is desirable to remember that the analogy of this country is not altogether correct. Here in Great Britain we are accustomed to the existence of distinct forces under boroughs or counties, subject to a certain control of the Home Office, but paid mainly from local rates. In India, on the other hand, the police forces are highly

centralized organizations directly under the Government, with each province as the unit, while all are paid by the State. In respect of control they are similar to the Metropolitan police, which, it should be noted, is a State police, and not a local police. The tendency has been to demunicipalize any forces which have been paid from local sources, and even in Calcutta, which has become a cosmopolitan city comparable with the great cities of the West, the police force is a State charge, and not a burden on the local rates. It would indeed be more profitable to make comparison, if any comparison be made at all, with the State police in a continental country like Italy, or with the Constabulary in Ireland if the varied duties and the centralized control of the police forces in India are to be fully appreciated. Let me mention a few of the miscellaneous duties. In some provinces the police still is the agency for the record of all vital statistics in rural areas, though developments are in hand for the transfer of that duty to other bodies. Then, again, except in certain large cities, the officer in charge of a police-station has to perform the duties of a coroner in the case of unnatural deaths. Moreover, the system of keeping the funds of the State in little money boxes, called treasuries and sub-treasuries, at administrative centres all over the country, necessitates a considerable employment of police in the constant movements of treasure, and the still imperfect railway facilities in the rural areas impose likewise an additional burden in the escort of prisoners. These instances by no means exhaust the list of such miscellaneous duties.

Just as in this and other civilized countries, the police forces in India are meant primarily for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property—in the words of the great Prefect of Paris, M. Louis Lepine. But the police in India also represents the right hand and arm of a Government which, however benevolent in intention and impartial in act, is an alien Government. Hence a proportion of the district forces is armed, there

are armed reserves at headquarters which are employed on escort and similar duties other than purely police duties, and military police battalions have been embodied at selected centres.

It is true that the military forces in India can be, and have been, used for the suppression of internal disorder, but the disposition of those forces has necessarily been guided by two principles, the fixing of the centre of gravity of the military mass in accordance with the dictates of external military strategy and the protection of large centres of population. But to the great majority of Indian districts the existence of cantonments and military forces is unknown, and it is on the police, therefore, that the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder naturally must fall.

Let me now describe in broad outline the present constitution and organization of the Indian police forces. At the bottom of the scale is the village watchman—in some cases the survival from Mughal or even pre Mughal times, in others the creation of the British Government, with varying names from province to province. His remuneration is by different methods—by land grants, by money payment, or by both—in the different provinces, and the control of the village watch varies from pure State control to pure local control, with combinations of the two in different proportions. But it is mainly an indigenous organization, and the prevailing characteristic is the self-protection of a village or group of villages. It needs no argument to understand that it is essential that there should be complete co-operation between these village units and the permanent forces of the Crown, indeed, it is both the ideal and the despair of all Indian police administrators to secure that co-ordination. Reams have been written about the reform of the village watch, but, in the words of Thomas Gray

"No sense they have of ills to come,  
Nor care beyond to-day."

I have a warm corner in my heart for the humble village watchman

After the village watch come the uniformed and disciplined forces of the Crown. They number about 200,000 men, with a controlling staff of 1,000 officers for the whole of British India proper, that is, exclusive of the Native States, with a population of 240 millions. The cost is 4½ millions sterling, which is cheap. In recent years there has been a tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the press to attack the expenditure on the police, accusations have not been wanting that it is a pampered service, the critics are zealous in expenditure for public welfare in the interests of education and health, but inclined to forget that a peaceful condition of society is the pre requisite for all professions, for all trade, crafts and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive. Just contrast the cost of the Metropolitan police a force of nearly 22,000 men costs 6½ millions sterling, and the expenditure has increased more than fourfold in the last twenty years. Then consider again the vastness of the area over which it is sought to uphold the *pax Britannica*,—over a million square miles in British India. It cannot be too frequently emphasized in this country that we have to deal with a continent, not a country, and that it includes people of every conceivable type of civilization, varying from those, on the one hand, who for centuries have been accustomed to prey on their neighbours, to those, on the other hand, who demand and expect all the amenities which modern civilization can furnish. The proportion varies from nearly one police officer for three square miles in the closely packed United Provinces to one for eighteen square miles in the province of Assam with its vacant spaces. Again, there is one police officer to about 500 of the population in the turbulent North-West Frontier Province, while in the thickly populated, but generally law abiding, area of Bihar the proportion is as small as one police officer to about 2,500 of the population. These figures are significant when one learns that in London and Paris the ratio is about

one policeman to 350 of the population, whilst in Great Britain, as a whole, the ratio is about one to 800. The recruitment is local in North, Upper, and Western India, but in Bengal and Burma the recruits have been to a great extent from Upper India. In Burma the military police includes Gurkhas and Sikhs, while the police of Rangoon are nearly all Punjabis. In Bengal before the war about two out of every three were natives of Upper India, and thus foreigners to the province, but in that province there has been a steady increase in local recruits until the proportion has been reduced to one in three. In the Madras Presidency it has not been difficult to recruit certain classes from the West Coast, but these men are foreigners in language and habits if they are allocated to the Tamil-speaking districts in the east of the Presidency. The rise in the cost of living in recent years is a well-known handicap in the matter of recruitment, but the recruitment of men who are foreigners in the districts in which they serve creates a difficulty which is perhaps not fully appreciated. The ideal is, of course, to fill the ranks with contented, competent, and self respecting men.

The organization, as it exists at present, is mainly the result of the Police Act of 1861 and of the changes effected by the Police Commission of 1903. The unit of control is the district, familiar to all acquainted with Indian affairs as the unit of executive control, under a Superintendent, and there are widening concentric rings of authority under Deputy Inspectors-General and Inspectors-General. The administrative heads are supplied by the Indian Police Service, recruited until recently entirely in London, but gradually the grade styled Deputy Superintendent, the invention of the 1903 Commission, recruited in India, is supplying selected officers for the higher administrative duties. The Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors who form the investigating staff are locally recruited almost exclusively from the middle classes, and the rank and file of head constables and constables are from the agricultural classes.

The Sub-Inspector is the head officer at each police

station, the jurisdiction of which forms the areas into which all districts and towns have been divided. He is the real centre round which all revolve, the lesser luminaries, the constables are his agents, while the higher officers make their tours with the periodicity of planets and occasionally with the eccentricity of comets. Instances have not been wanting in which rankers have risen to the highest position of power and responsibility the controlling staff is only too eager to reward merit. One of the finest detectives of modern times in India joined the Bombay force as a head constable and became Superintendent of the Bombay City Police and was twice decorated. He was it is true, a man of good family and well educated. I knew personally in different parts of India, two men who had remarkable careers. One started life as a village watchman and had no education beyond the vernacular, yet through pure merit he rose to be a Deputy Superintendent and received decorations. The other began his service as a constable, and at present holds the rank of Deputy Inspector General.

Each province has, within the last twenty years, made great strides in organizing training colleges and schools for the cadets in the investigating staff and for the constables. The object and the result of the curricula have been to produce better qualified servants of the public. In the case of the investigating staff it was hoped that the taint of corruption would gradually be eliminated, as men were recruited of better education, better social status and better morals, and, in the case of constables, that there would be a gradual approach to literacy and to the cultivation of intelligence. In three large provinces only half of the rank and file, or even a smaller proportion, can read and write. In Madras, as might be expected, the standard of literacy is very high, and in the North-West Frontier Province very low. One result of this preliminary training has been to give to provincial organizations a greater *esprit de corps*, which, as elsewhere, tends to promote pride of calling and higher

ideals of duty. There is, however, some misgiving when the complaint is made that the new type of Sub-Inspector, coming as he does from the ranks of the middle middle class instead of the lower middle class as before, is too much of a town-bred youth who knows too little of the rural economy of the agriculturists with whom he has to deal. But there is very general evidence that the recruitment of a superior type, combined with improved training, is steadily improving the morale of the force and the respect in which it is held by the general public.

The work of the police in relation to crime falls naturally under the heads of prevention and investigation, and these heads may be considered separately. But, first, it is useful to survey as a whole the crime with which the police forces have to deal. I do not discuss here the researches of English, Continental and American sociologists into the causes of crime, or the views of criminologists and social reformers on the prevention of crime. For the present purpose I take merely the fact of crime. There is in India much that is familiar to us in Western countries: there is the crime of petty thefts, due to poverty or temptation, there is the crime of passion, and there is the crime of perverted brains in clever forgeries, in embezzlements by persons in positions of trust, and in swindling of all kinds, with the confidence trick in many Eastern guises. But there are certain classes of crime throughout the Indian continent with which we in Great Britain are almost entirely unacquainted: a certain type of co-operative crime, hereditary crime and agrarian crime. By the term 'co-operative' I mean the crime in which bodies of men among the criminal classes work jointly, and by "hereditary" crime I mean the commission of deeds which in the eye of the law are illegal, but which are held by the culprits to be the natural result of their birth. A peculiarly Indian type of co-operative crime is dacoity, a word which has become familiar to English ears, it is robbery with violence in bodies of five or more, as declared

by Lord Macaulay's Penal Code, first framed in the late thirties of last century. The commission of an offence of this character is facilitated by the timidity of the average villager. Bands of dacoits are the real bugbear to the police officers in every province. It is said that the professional dacoit seldom reforms, and it is a labour of Sisyphus to round them up in twos or threes, or in large numbers in what is called a "gang" case, with the certainty that as soon as they come out of gaol seven or ten years hence they will re-coalesce and start again on their career of plundering their neighbours. The subjugation of these bands formed the main pursuit of the police in the early years of the occupation of Upper Burma, but it is a trade which flourishes in the oldest provinces. Sometimes their violence makes them outlaws, and in Upper India we hear of regular battles between armed dacoits and the police. Next, there are some castes which in the past have been entirely criminal and of whom many are now criminal, others, again, have become criminal. These are what are styled the criminal classes. The Chapparbands in the Central Provinces are an interesting survival, originally camp followers of the Moghal armies—as hut-builders, as their name indicates—they have now become professional coiners. The Dusadhs in Bihar, from whom most of the village watchmen are recruited—on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief—were originally a criminal class, but many of them have now taken to honest avocations as labourers and domestic servants. But the real hereditary criminals are the criminal tribes,—those unfortunate children of nature to whom crime is instinctive. While they add to the cares of administration, they certainly furnish a romance about crime, which the drab criminality of the West usually lacks. Every province in India has its representatives, there are about 4,000,000 of them in the whole of India, their numbers and variety deserve a lecture to themselves. They have been styled Ishmaelites and Outcasts by different writers. Take, for example, the Sansis of the

Punjab, reputed to have had a full dose of original sin, with all the arts of the gipsy vagabond from snake charming to juggling, but every man, woman and child a thief. The Maghaya Domes may be mentioned to a London audience, as Sir Edward Henry, for fifteen years London's Commissioner of Police, was, during his Indian service, the first to take deliberate steps to reclaim them. In the Punjab since 1914 a definite scheme of reformation through reformatories, industrial settlements and agricultural settlements, has been adopted. In Madras similar settlements have been placed under a Commissioner of Labour. The Salvation Army has been called upon to help in the United Provinces, Madras, and Bengal, and with some of the criminal tribes a hopeful degree of success has been achieved. Twenty-eight years ago, and again three years ago, I had to deal with this work at first hand and can only say that it is a long, tedious and uphill job. Genuine progress must not be expected within a generation, and then only in the case of the young if there were any chance of influencing them apart from their parents.

The other class of crime which I mentioned as unfamiliar to people in Great Britain is agrarian crime, that is to say, the riots which take place over the possession of lands, crops, fisheries and the like. I exclude from this category the riots which are the result of religious antagonism or which are the culmination of turbulence in resisting constituted authority. Conflicts about land between rival claimants are troublesome enough when there is the solid land which can furnish some silent testimony, but they are ten times more troublesome in the riverain areas of Bengal, where the ever shifting silt of the big rivers is constantly making and unmaking cultivable lands. It is of course natural that in an agricultural country in which the pressure of the population lies heavy on the land the fight for land should be acute, and this form of crime lessens in those parts of India where the pressure is not so acute. Agriculture, moreover, in India spells cattle cattle must graze

scarcity of grazing promotes cattle trespass on Hindu and this is also a fruitful source of agrarian rioting tries of

But apart from these main differences from *Wedding* experience, there are individual forms of crime which are worthy of note. One such item is cattle theft. Cattle lifters were once familiar on the Scottish border. Sir Walter Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" mentioned the raiders who—

"sought the beeves that made their broth  
In England and in Scotland both"

But the professional cattle thief of India would shock the Scottish or English countryside of to-day. Cattle theft is rather prevalent in the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bihar, also in Burma. Blackmail is the concomitant of theft,—a blackmail which is sometimes terrorism, sometimes unconscious humour. If so much is paid down, the owner will find that his cattle are to be found at a certain place. It is said that in Burma the owner will pay almost the value of his cattle as a ransom. In that province the increase in this class of crime within recent years has alarmed the administration. On the other hand, it is claimed for the United Provinces that this very provoking form of theft has, owing to police action, been diminished with the last thirty years.

The exponent of another specific form of theft deserves mention—the professional river robber on the Ganges from Benares to the ocean. For years the existence of this menace to boatmen was hardly noticed, because the sufferers said nothing about it. But the creation within recent years of a river police force has checked the depredations of these river pirates, in addition to saving many lives from drowning, and now it is difficult to realize how the provinces of the Gangetic valley ever managed without some organization of this kind.

Let us now briefly review crimes of violence. In the Indian records murder is associated with domestic quarrels,

Punjab and disputes about land, but witchcraft is also a factor. There are in India instances of violent jugglins which are peculiar to the East or reminiscent of the Magi of more than a century ago. During the appalling and mysterious influenza epidemic of 1918 there was prostration from the sickness and extreme mental depression. This led in one district of the Central Provinces to the murder of several men and women who were believed to be responsible by witchcraft for the disease. Then in 1919, in the United Provinces, a sorcerer, who had not been able to drive out an evil spirit from a boy who was sick, was murdered by the boy's father. I have a painful recollection of an appeal in the case of some poor, superstitious aborigines who had killed, as they thought, a witch and had received the capital sentence in that appeal. I advised the head of the province on the propriety of exercising the prerogative of mercy. The villagers were perfectly frank about it, but not infrequently there is a conspiracy of silence when such cases occur. Instances of human sacrifices are also to be found in recent records in the United Provinces a boy was offered to the goddess Bhawani, and a girl was sacrificed in order to propitiate the goddess Kali at Cawnpore, while in Bengal also, recently, a two-year-old child was sacrificed in a state of religious frenzy to the same goddess Kali. Again, there are the diabolical cases, fortunately rare, in which children have been murdered for the sake of their ornaments, usually gold earrings or silver anklets. One more personal experience may be mentioned. In the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, nearly one hundred years ago, the act called suttee, the self-immolation of a widow, was declared unlawful. Genuine cases, however, still occur, and I had once to deal with one such case of suttee. What struck me most on that occasion was that the public feeling in the village was entirely on the side of the widow. The fellow-villagers applauded her act at the time and their mentality indicated that in their case

no change in public sentiment as to the duty of a Hindu widow had been developed since 1829. The enquiries of the police were obstructed, and when at last the leading abettors were punished, it was considered that the ways of the Sirkar were incomprehensible.

I might describe under the head of crimes of deceit various forms of imposture, including the work of the professional poisoner, which always begins with imposture, but I refrain from troubling you with too much detail. There is, however, one type of swindling which has always struck me as the meanest of the mean. A party of illiterate country folk, probably unused to travel, go to a railway station to purchase tickets. A plausible man offers to help them, he takes their money, purchases some tickets, and hands the tickets to them. After they have travelled some distance they discover at a ticket checking station that their tickets are for a very small portion of their proposed journey, and that this apparent benefactor has decamped with the excess money not required for the short journey. Or I might dilate on various forms of anarchical crime, but I must refrain from straying into this side path, though I had much to do with this kind of crime. This much, however, I should like to say, that the courage and devotion shown by the Indian police in dealing with it cannot be too highly praised.

Before leaving the subject of Indian crime, it might be worth while to glance at the other side of the picture. Is there any form of crime common in this country which has no analogue in the East? Now, whatever may be urged in certain quarters against the excise administration in India, this much may be asserted with confidence, that crime which is the direct result of intemperance in drink is rare in India proper, it is from a drug like *bhang*, the Indian hemp, that instances may be found in which there is an outburst of ungovernable passion resulting in homicide. It is interesting to note that the Arabian preparation from Indian hemp is called *hashish*, and that it is the origin of

our English word "assassin." This illustrates clearly the connection between this drug and murder

I trust that you will not imagine after this short review that the Indian is exceptionally criminal, on the contrary It is extremely difficult to appraise the incidence of crime between country and country, as the factors vary so much, and the statistics available are not all based on the same principles. It is true that in the East many crimes are never reported, and hence statistical inferences are vitiated. But it is perhaps permissible to make the following generalization the average incidence of crime for every ten thousand of the population in India and Burma as a whole is about the same as in the large industrial centres in England. We may also say that robbery, whether with or without violence, varies directly with economic stress, which again varies inversely with good or bad agricultural seasons

Let us now consider the measures adopted by the police in dealing with crime. First of all, as explained already, let us take prevention. There is one Criminal Procedure Code for the whole of India, and in that remarkable piece of codified law there are provisions for preventive action, for preventing riots and for ensuring good behaviour. Suspects may at the initiative of the police be called upon by the Magistracy to show cause why they should not be bound down in specific recognizances to be of good behaviour, the most common ground is that the suspect is an habitual thief. These provisions of law known as the bad livelihood sections, can be, if honestly and discreetly worked, a great deterrent to wrongdoers, if dishonestly and indiscriminately worked, an engine of great oppression. The local trial of such cases near the suspect's own home can usually disclose whether the prosecution is the result of personal animus, village vendetta, vague suspicion against an ex-convict, or real, thoroughly justified ill reputation. On the occasion of a large outbreak of burglaries it is the last refuge of the incompetent officer to make an ill-regulated raid on the men who are on the police-books, on the other hand, it is the

first line of attack by the really competent police officer to analyze intelligently his statistics of crime, and then to institute proceedings against the important few whom the test of elimination reveals. Sir Robert Anderson, a former head of the Criminal Investigation Department in London, once said that he could house in the wing of one prison all the English criminals who really counted. Here I would remark that in surveillance over the registered criminal our police work in the East is generally defective. It is so easy to obtain the shadow of effective control without the substance, but wherever real co-operation exists between the local public, the village watch, and the regular police, the task of real control is easy. These bad livelihood provisions of the law are strongly worked in North, Upper and Western India, and in Burma. Under the head of prevention may also be mentioned the many cases which do not find a place in criminal statistics concerning threatened agrarian or religious disturbances, but for which the police are entitled to credit. There are many trying occasions on which violence has been averted by the tact and good temper shown by the police officers concerned. The prevention of crime raises, of course, a much larger question than the working of the police forces, but I may mention that the creation of children's courts, of Borstal institutions, and of settlements of criminal tribes, has done something to attack at the source crime which depends on environment.

As regards the second main subdivision of the policeman's work—namely, investigation—a great advance has been made through reforms initiated after the Commission of 1903. I might mention two defects which have been combated during recent years. One was the system of judging the work of police officers by the statistical results of the cases in the courts. A system of such statistics has its use in the hands of an intelligent police administrator when the control of crime as a whole has to be reviewed, but as a mechanical check on the work of the individual police officer it was usually an untrue and frequently an

unfair guide. Even before the Commission sat the evil had been diagnosed and more equitable tests were in process of adoption. What may be termed judicial success by the police in all but petty cases is highest in Bombay and the United Provinces, and lowest in the Central Provinces and Burma.

Another evil was the abuse of confessions. It was the aim of the old type of investigating police officer to obtain a confessing accused, and then to make him the pivot of the whole of the prosecution before the courts. It was so obviously easy, and its evidential value was apparently conclusive. But it was a system which lent itself to all kinds of abuse. Indeed, the practice brought about its own nemesis, for it became a byword that an accused could make sure of his release by making a confession in a lower court and then retracting it in a higher court. An investigating staff is now growing up which is being saturated with the idea, taken from this country, that a confession should be treated as a mere incidental scene, and not the main act in the drama. Apart from that, the recruitment for the investigating staff of men of a better social status, and the improvement in the technical instruction in the training colleges, as well as the more rigorous selection of the upper grade called Inspectors, are bearing fruit.

There are two interesting departures from Western practice which deserve some comment in this connection. One is the permission given by a section of the Criminal Procedure Code to the police to refuse to investigate an alleged crime. Each province has different rules about this, and the practice varies to a remarkable extent, the application is, however, usually to thefts of unidentifiable articles. In fact there are two schools of thought as to the duties of the police with reference to petty crime. One view is that this type of refusal has to be carefully watched, as a complainant will not take the trouble to walk sometimes a considerable distance to a police-station to report his case, unless his loss is in his eyes considerable and important.

to him. The other is the view that it is waste of time to enquire into hopeless, petty, and unimportant cases. Hence we find one Inspector-General complaining because his staff refuses too many cases, and another complaining because his staff refuses too few. The varying practice is, indeed, startling from 3 per cent. of refusals to investigate reported crime in Burma to nearly 50 per cent. in the Central Provinces. It appears that it is very difficult to lay down a general instruction in this matter without presuming more equality of discretion than is found among the class of investigating officers to whom it is addressed. Another instance in which Western practice differs is to be found in the law relating to statements made by an accused person during police investigation. In this instance Indian law is more favourable to the accused than English law. In this country an arrested person is warned that any statement made by him may be used in evidence against him, but in India there is the very substantial protection to an arrested person that any self-incriminating statement made to any police officer is altogether inadmissible as evidence in court.

Under the head of investigation it may be mentioned that there is in each province a highly specialized branch known as the Criminal Investigation Department, which concentrates the detective energy of each provisional organization, and at the headquarters of the Government of India there is an intelligence bureau which holds strings radiating, not only over all the Indian continent, but also to foreign countries. As the Indian criminal develops in skill and ingenuity, so must the defensive organization be developed to meet him. Indeed, from a study of the literature of crime, I venture to hold that the best type of Indian detective compares not unfavourably in acumen, pertinacity, and integrity, with any of the famed investigators of England, France, America, or Canada. The system of identification which has now received almost universal adaptation in the campaign against recidivism—I mean the system of

in India and Sir Edward Henry's development of its possibilities especially in the matter of indexing, has entirely supplanted the system known as the Bertillon system of body measurements, which was tried for a time in India.

Before I conclude I should like to bear testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War. Both during and since the war India has had some sore trials—unrest, actual disorder, anarchical outbreaks, inter-religious conflict, serious scarcity, economic strain owing to high prices and a disastrous outbreak of influenza. It speaks volumes for the respect and loyalty which British officers have inspired among their Indian colleagues and subordinates in the police forces when it is found that the Indian police forces passed through the strain not only with satisfaction, but with credit, in the control of crime, though depleted in numbers and depressed by sickness and anxiety. In the United Provinces one sixth of the force volunteered for the army, and in the Punjab one-eighth.

This subject of crime and police in the great Indian Dependency is, as you may imagine, one of vast extent, and I have therefore endeavoured on the present occasion to present simply a general conspectus. But I trust that I have shown that, in spite of many defects—the removal of which is prevented, not by want of knowledge or want of sympathy, but want of funds—and in spite of the inheritance of bad traditions from the past, the police forces of India constitute well-organized bodies, which are a tribute to the ideals with which the men who control them have been and are guided in endeavouring to make them good servants of the public which they protect, and of the Government which they serve.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, February 21, 1921, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W, when a paper was read by Sir John G Cumming entitled "Crime and Police in India." Sir Edward R Henry, Bart, formerly Commissioner of Police, London, occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G C S I, G C I E, K C M G., Colonel Sir Charles E Yate, Bart, C S I, C M G M P, Sir Duncan J Macpherson, C I E, Captain Sir William Nott Bower, C V O, Sir Christopher W Baynes, Sir William Ovens Clark Sir Robert F Fulton, Major General F E Chamier C B, C I E, Mr F H Brown, C I E, Mr C E Buckland, C I E, Mr H E A Cotton, C I E, Mr A Porteous, C I E, Mr C W Chichele Plowden, C I E, Mr E H Man, C I E Mr N C Sen, O B E, Mr J B Pennington, Lieut. Colonel W G Hamilton, I M S, Mr Thomas Luby, I C S, the Rev Dr R H Durham, the Rev J M E Ross, Mr B C Vaidya, Mr Bernard V Shaw, Mr R H Bhagat, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr Ronald C Baynes, Mr R S Greenshields, Mr J C F Holland, Mr A C Cumming, Miss E Binney, Mrs A M T Jackson, Dr Lawrence Fink, Mr A S Hunton, Mr Marlborough Crosse, Mr H R James, Mrs. Dick Cunyngham, Mr J Sladen, Mr R H Cust, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr F C Channing, Mr S S Gnana Viran, Mr H I Leach, Mr G M Ryan, Mr F J P Richter, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Mr B C Taylor, Mr A Toulmin Smith, Mrs Creagh Osborne, Mrs Drury, Mrs Clark Kennedy, Miss Price, Mr G E R Grant Brown, Miss M Sorabji, Mr A Page, Miss Sykes, Mr J W Holme, Colonel A. L. Caldwell, Mr H C Barnes, Major Skene Thompson, Mr H M Jagtiani, Mr G P Whalley, Mr J E Armstrong, Mr C Whitmore Clarke, Mr C O'Brien, Mr J M Gosh, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I will now call upon Sir John G Cumming to read his paper on "Crime and Police in India." Sir John possesses very special qualifications for the task he has imposed upon himself, for I think I may say he has held almost every post under the Government of Bengal that a civilian can hold. He was an assistant magistrate, magistrate, magistrate-in-charge of a district, and for a time he was a Commissioner, and in addition he has had great opportunities of learning all about the people by being a settlement officer. He has also held high posts, as he was in the Viceroy's Council. I think therefore, we are fortunate in having one who has been for a whole generation—that is to say, for over thirty years—working amongst the people of India to express his views upon so important a subject as crime and the relations between the police and the people of India. As you know, the security of

everybody out there is mainly dependent upon the police force, and no police force can be at all effective for its work unless it is more or less popular. A police force is strong when they have popular support behind them, and to anyone who has been entrusted with the duties of a settlement officer or who has been in charge of a district where he not only heard all the reports sent in by the police, but where, as a matter of fact, being magistrate, he was responsible for the action taken on them, it is particularly helpful to him to have an intimate knowledge of the people. You have in Sir John Cumming an officer who possesses that particular qualification.

I will now call upon him to read his paper.

The lecturer then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, Sir John Cumming has covered a so extensive field in his remarks that it would be quite impossible to touch upon more than one or two points. I understand it is the practice here to invite discussion, and the Chairman, I believe, is expected to make a few remarks before inviting others to express their views.

Well, I have been so much connected with police work that I really hardly know which particular point I ought to say something about. The lecturer has referred to the reclamation of criminal tribes. My official connection with criminal tribes is this. I was District Magistrate of Champaran in Behar in the early eighties—a long time ago, I am sorry to say—and Champaran has for its northern boundary the Nepal Terai, a more or less swampy tract lying between the lower ranges of hills and our territory. Very few people can live there. Those who live there are called Auliyas—i.e. men who have become immune to the dreadful malarial fever, known in the vernacular as Aul. When the rainy season is well over it can be lived in, but taken throughout the year it is about the most pestilential place in the whole world. Here dwell a tribe of nomads known as Maghaya Dhomes. Dhomes are quite a large caste throughout India, but these, though known as Dhomes, are differentiated by the appellation Maghaya, in fact, they have no real connection with the Dhomes. They are nomads, and, though able to converse in the vernacular of the district, have a language of their own, and even an epic of their own. They were born in the open, and had never been under a roof except when in jail. All men's hands were against them, and occasionally the Nepalese sent soldiers to shoot them down and I am afraid our treatment of them was not much better. They used to come and harry our villages, if a villager got in the way, they would not hesitate to knife him, and if the villagers were fortunate enough to resist them and got the opportunity they trampled one or two of them to death. It was a dreadful state of things—a disgrace to civilization and to our administration. I thought therefore I would try my hand, and see if I could do anything. It so happened we were expecting a number of these men out of jail—a sort of jail delivery—and a great number were being released. They had been run in under the gang cases the lecturer has referred to. So I spoke to the Maharajah of Bettiah and other land-owners, and asked if they would help, and they said they would, and they supplied me with

money and seed and bullocks, and, to make a long story short, I built some houses and got land and money, and then, when the wives and families of these people came and waited round the jail for the men to come out, I got hold of the wives. They were very fine-looking women the men being small, wiry, and lithe, and in the statistical account of Bengal they are, Sir William Hunter says, so fleet of foot that a mounted man could not capture them. The women were very desperate when driven to bay. On an encampment being rounded up a woman would take a child by the heel and threaten to dash his brains out if the pursuit was pressed. That they were desperate criminals was due to the manner in which they had been treated. Well, the wives of these men said they would come along, and so we got fifty or sixty of them at first, and finally we had nearly five hundred of them, and put them into houses, gave them land, and made them cultivate the land, and we induced them to cultivate it in various ways—sometimes by methods not recognized by any code of criminal procedure. Anyhow, it proved a great success, and one of the most interesting features in connection with it was to watch what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the surface-sweeping tendency of semi Hinduism towards orthodoxy. They entertained a priest, or Guru, and gradually were forming themselves into a sort of Hindu sub-caste.

Well, eventually I left the district and lost sight of them and this settlement is now being administered by the Salvation Army. I could talk to you about many things, but I am told that time is limited, and I must therefore be brief, as I understand others wish to speak.

Sir John Cumming has referred to the strength of the police force, but has referred but little to the village police. You have not only 200,000 regular police, but probably eight times as many village police—something like 2,000,000, and not 200,000. And, mind you the village policemen, the Chowkidar, is most important. For good results in investigation you are often dependent on the Chowkidar. The best detective in the world can do nothing without information, and it is from the village Chowkidar that information must be sought. In my days we tried to improve the village watchmen in several ways. I got them a uniform in Bengal and got their pay increased. I think we had about 190,000 in Bengal with a regular police force of about 22,000. Well, that point has not been dwelt upon but it is a point of importance. Anything which can be done to improve the status of the village Chowkidar will do more towards preventing crime than any other assignable improvement. That is only one of many things.

Sir John has also referred to the use of the police as an armed force for repelling disturbances. The armed police in my day had an old rifle with the rifling cut out, and they fired packets containing slugs. Personally, I would prefer a wound from a bullet to a wound from slugs. Incidentally I may say that infantry, whether they are armed police or military, are not the best agency for dealing with bodies of rioters. Mounted men are preferable. You cannot very well have cavalry in Bengal, because the ground is unsuitable. But in England mounted men can be used, and are more effective than footmen, and I will tell you

why I suppose many of you have been to the Derby, and you may have seen after the race the whole course so dense with people that you could not drop a pin between them, when suddenly in the distance half a dozen mounted police are visible, and then a girl perhaps walking alone with her young man looks round, clutches his sleeve, and others gradually edge away, and the desired disintegration of the crowd begins. The fact is that people can see the mounted man because he is high up, and so it is with the rioters in the street. The rioters at the back of a crowd cannot see infantry or foot police, but if cavalry come up they see them in the distance, and as it is only the first three or four ranks that have any stomach for the fight, when they find the people at the back are beginning to edge off and that their support is melting away they often deem it advisable not to stand. That is why I think the best force for dealing with rioting in a humane way is to employ mounted men. Then your foot soldier has only one effective arm, the other is holding on to his rifle and bayonet, but the cavalryman's horse is a very efficient agent in disintegrating a crowd. To deal with rioting without blood letting, mounted men should be tried in the first instance, with infantry or foot police as a second line. Ladies and gentlemen, I have trespassed too long on your indulgence, and will now ask others to join in the discussion. I understand Sir William Nott Bower would like to speak.

Sir WILLIAM NOTT BOWER said he was quite unable to speak on the question of police in India his experience had been entirely in Ireland and England. He quite agreed with what the Chairman said with regard to the use of mounted men in dealing with disturbances. Naturally they were the best body for dispersing crowds in a humane manner. In Ireland they had a plan of always sending two men with truncheons, each man with a rifle, so that there was always more than the one arm which the Chairman had referred to when it came to close quarters. He had been very interested indeed, but he was quite ignorant of Indian affairs, so that he was afraid he could say nothing on the subject.

A member asked why it was that the Tamils in the South of India had no police force of their own race, which the lecturer had referred to.

The LECTURER I can say at once that the reference is not to the fact that there were no Tamil policemen, but that policemen from the rest of India were sent to Eastern India, where they were foreigners.

A member asked if they had altered the rules about the tom tom sounding, and so on, because there had been recently a riot in Madras, where the great complaint was that the police fire unnecessarily, and did not sound the tom toms, and so on. The people said they were collecting to have a meeting, and complained that they were unnecessarily fired on.

The CHAIRMAN said that practice of employing armed police is no innovation, they had to be employed in the Gaurakshani riots in the eighties. He remembered quite well sending out a party under a sub-inspector, who had written instructions as to when he was to fire. He went out, and unfortunately he had to fire, and some people were killed, and for his handling of the situation he, on his return, was promoted to commissioned rank. The question was raised in Council, and the

explanation offered was that this officer was promoted, not because he fired, but because he showed extraordinary moderation in not firing more. That occurred thirty years ago, and a similar resort to extreme measures have not infrequently been taken since. It is a terrible thing to have to fire on an unarmed crowd, and it should only be done when there is no other way of enforcing obedience, but whoever resorts to it must be able to justify his action, and unless he can show that he acted with moderation he would stand condemned.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said that everyone would join with the lecturer in bearing testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War, and the sore trials they were put to both during the war and afterwards. The main question they were concerned with was the question of the Indian police, and not the question of the English or Irish police. The lecturer had told them how the police force in India were responsible for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property, and how the police had to bear the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder. That was no doubt quite true, and the first thing for them to consider in India was the necessity of a contented and loyal police force. (Hear, hear.) The great question was. Were the payments they made to the police in India sufficient to secure a really contented body of men? They had heard of the extraordinary small number of police there were in India in comparison with the population, and how much smaller it was as compared with England, and how very small was the cost of the police administration in India in comparison with this country. They should all take that to heart, and realize that what they had to do was to urge the Government of India to put the police once and for all on a really satisfactory basis. When one read of the miserable pay they got they realized how important it was to increase the status of the force in India. He did not know exactly what the pay of the police constable was in the various provinces, but at any rate it was far too low, and he hoped that the Government of India, especially in view of the serious condition of India at the present time, would take that point into consideration, and that they would hear no more of what the lecturer had described as the tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the Press to attack the expenditure on the police. He trusted that the new Legislative Councils would not forget that, as the lecturer has put it, a peaceful condition of society is the prerequisite for all professions, for all trade crafts, and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive, that, however good education might be, they would realize that education was of no use unless those educated had security to enjoy the benefits of that education, and thus quickly make up their minds that the police ought to be well paid, and that nothing should be left undone to secure that they had a really contented and well paid body of men to look after the safety of the people of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr COTTON said that, first of all, he wished to say with what great pleasure he had listened to the paper of his old friend Sir John Cumming. He did not think there was a single word in it to which one could take

exception. It was an extremely fair and comprehensive presentment of the whole question. At the same time there was one important matter with which he could not help wishing that the lecturer had dealt. He would like to have heard from him whether the attitude of the public towards the police in India had altered from what it used to be. When he was engaged in criminal practice in Bengal he always noticed that the prevailing atmosphere in which the police moved was one of suspicion and distrust. One always noticed that if anything occurred in a village it was usually the most unpopular man in the village who was given in charge, that was the easiest way of settling any doubts. Then, again, it was always an easy matter to get hold of the police papers, and the police papers seemed to be arranged generally with a view to enabling a prisoner to have a very good chance of an acquittal. He felt sure there had been a great improvement in the *morale* of the police since those days, but it was not quite enough to improve the methods of recruitment for those at the head of affairs. He would like to have heard whether any corresponding improvement could be traced in the constitution of the lower ranks. He would also like to have heard whether local recruitment had taken the place of recruitment from outside provinces in Bengal. So long as they had what was practically a foreign police force they would never get a proper feeling between the police and the population. The people would be bound in such conditions to look upon the policeman as one who did not belong to them and who could always be relied upon to be up to some sort of underhand game or other. He was particularly speaking of Bengal and he wished the Government of that presidency had been able to take in hand the question of superseding the foreign police by constables locally recruited. He thought the experiment would be a great success.

He was in complete sympathy with what Sir Charles Yate had said with regard to improving the pay of the police, but there were great difficulties in the way. A very large number of heavy demands were being made, and would be made in the near future, upon the public purse, and many new developments were promised which were bound to be expensive. He would be glad if the lecturer could tell them something about the prospects of improvement in that direction, whether there had been any alteration in the popular view of the police, and, finally, whether anything was being done in the direction of getting rid of the outside element in the lower ranks of the force, all of which were subjects of great interest to him.

In conclusion, he would only say that the paper had been one of the best he had heard in connection with the Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr JAGTIANI said one point which had been rightly emphasized was with regard to the village watchman, but they had yet to give a fixed place to him. The old village watchman had a certain status in the social organization of the village which he did not occupy to-day, he was neither a man of the village nor a unit of the Crown forces. In many cases he was merely a personal attendant of a certain official or the district officer who went there. The lecturer had said that success in detecting crime more or less was dependent on the amount of support he was able to get from the public themselves, and he would like to ask the lecturer as to

what were the chief causes of the lack of it where it was not forthcoming from the village

A third point which had been raised was with regard to the criminal tribes. The experiments which the Chairman had assisted to carry out by way of reforming them, by giving them houses and providing a certain amount of work, lost sight of still another point which had got to be faced, and that was the fact that those criminal tribes worked under the disadvantage of having to bring up their children in the same surroundings as themselves, and that was a reform which ought to be faced by the Government, the children of those criminal tribes ought never to be brought up in those same surroundings, and he thought it was high time their conditions were improved (Hear, hear)

Concerning the last point, he wished to add that he wanted to suggest that the method of segregating criminals was not the right one. The English and more particularly the Italian, efforts have been on reformatory rather than segregating lines

Lord CARMICHAEL said that as a late Governor of a large province in India he felt in the position of a man who ought to say a few words on the subject there was no man who heard more of the faults of the police than the Governor, and it was his duty to try and find out the causes of the complaints. In his opinion there was an improvement in the police in recent years, at any rate in Bengal, and he felt certain those who knew most of the subject would agree with him, and he would go further and say that the question of money had a great deal to do with it. All the time he was there that was his opinion. The police could be greatly improved still, but what they needed was money. When he was in Bengal they did get an increase of pay for the police, but it would have been far better if it had been given some years before. Unless they gave the policeman a living wage they could not expect any more than they could in this country to have police who would do their duty and whom the people would respect. He agreed that it was an unfortunate thing to have a policeman who did not belong to the country itself. What could they expect if they had constables in the village who did not understand the language of the people, and whom the people could not talk to in their own language? It was ridiculous to imagine they could have a perfect police force under such a system. They could not expect to get suitable men if they did not pay the current rate of wages. If they paid low wages in a part where the wages were high they could not expect to get the men they would like to have got. He would like to mention one instance bearing on the question of pay, and that was in connection with his visits to a certain hospital in which there were often a large number of police suffering from illness. He remembered asking the doctor there why it was, and he replied that if he wanted to know the truth, the fact was that those men were suffering from starvation simply and solely, they did not get enough to eat. That ought not to be the case. It was impossible for men of their size and weight to keep in good health on the wages they received still less to live and send away money to their dependents, therefore often they were driven to increase their earnings in other ways.

In days gone by he had often pleaded with Indian gentlemen to encourage their sons or their relations to go into the police force, and he knew many Indian gentlemen who really cared about their country, and who wished to see the country do well, and would like to see Indians taking part in that part of the government of their country, but they said to him "How can you ask us to let our sons go into a force of that sort, do you want us to put them into a position where we know they cannot live as they ought to live? It was quite true.

Then, again, he thought there was a great deal in what had been said about the Chowkidar, and he thought they would have to pay more attention to that part of the force than the Government did in his time before they could get a satisfactory police force (Hear, hear)

Miss SCRATCHERD said that she had been asked by Dr Pollen to read a note or two from his letter she had received that morning on Sir John Cumming's paper, which he considered, as they would all agree, to be a very able and instructive one. Dr Pollen writes

'Sir John Cumming's paper on 'Crime and Police in India' is an able one and instructive. Personally I have always felt that we might have perfected the old village and district system of police without building up an elaborate European police department and a police secretariat. From the earliest days of my service I discouraged spying and anonymous petitions, and deprecated confidential reports. Everything ought to be done in the open—in the door of the tent, or under the mango tree—*coram publico*. Whisperings and sneakings in police matters should have been systematically discouraged. I remember how I fought against the transference of power over the district police from the heads of the district to Inspector Generals dwelling on hill tops with their secretarial staffs, and 'all the measureless ills' of ignorant interference from above.'

'I think the Criminal Investigation Department in a land like India was a huge mistake. In Bombay we put down 'Thuggism' without it (and Dacoity also on a large scale). Minute searching for crime begets crime, and a permanent staff engaged in such a task is a curse to any community. The best policeman is the policeman who knows how and when to look the other way. But I fear we have not hitherto had many 'best policemen' in India. However, I acknowledge we have had some excellent men like your Chairman, and especially in Bengal, as acknowledged by the lecturer.'

"In dealing with riotous mobs in India I have often thought one should be careful to use the right 'elements, and in dispersing them 'water' has often been found more effective than 'fire.' A turbulent mob has sometimes been converted thereby into a laughing crowd. Police should be taught to use the hose on occasions."

She would like to congratulate the Society on having such a practical psychologist presiding as their Chairman. She had always maintained that in the higher grade of the police force, as well as in diplomacy, they should have trained psychologists, and evidently the present Chairman was one of these. She wondered whether there was any scope in India

for a department of women police, in view of the admitted failure of the men to deal with the wild women of the criminal tribes.

The CHAIRMAN Sir John Cumming will perhaps now reply to one or two of the points that have been raised, and will answer any of the points that have not been already answered.

The LECTURER Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, at this stage I shall not detain you long. In the first place, I wish to thank those who have spoken in some terms of appreciation of what I have been able to place before you.

As regards the subject of the village watchman, to which reference has been made, I intended to make it clear that the 200,000 men represented the unformed forces of the Crown, and I am wholly in accord with those who have spoken in agreeing that the best work is obtained by co-operation with the village watchmen. As regards the attitude of the public, to which one speaker has referred, I should like to say that it is impossible in one or two sentences to explain all the reasons why assistance is not given by the public to the officers of the Crown. One might say that in a great measure success in police work in India is in spite of the public, whereas in this country it is certainly with the assistance of the public. I quite agree with what has been said by Sir Charles Yate, Lord Carmichael, and others. In one sentence, you cannot have good police unless you pay them well and house them well.

Lastly, on the subject of criminal tribes, with regard to which our respected Chairman has made some remarks, I had the honour of serving in the same part of the world about six or eight years after the period to which he refers and in a small way I endeavoured to carry on the system which he initiated. Undoubtedly the work of the Salvation Army at the present time is the direct descendant of the work which he inaugurated. I would say, in reply to the speaker who suggested that improvement of the criminal tribes could only come when the children were separated from their families, that if he or any others can tell us how to separate the children from these unfortunate people it would be useful. That is the great problem—there is also the same difficulty in the case of lepers—how to make any improvement or reform amongst the young, and how to take the children away from their parents.

With these few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you again for your appreciation. (Loud applause.)

Mr VIRAM, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive paper, said that he came from the extreme South of India, and it might interest them to know the sort of pay the policemen got there. They got seven rupees a month, or about fourteen shillings a month, and they did good work, and the people had great respect for those men. As far as he knew they were recruited locally.

Mr PENNINGTON seconded the proposal, which was carried by acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

## FINANCE

## THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON K C S I

IN an article written on November 23, 1920, and published in the ASIATIC REVIEW for January, 1921, I gave some account of the recent history of the rupee, and pointed out that it appeared to be again linked with silver, as it was before the closing of the Indian Mints in 1893. Since then a change has taken place. There has been a further very rapid fall in the price of silver, and, although the value of the rupee in pence sterling has also fallen, it has not fallen so rapidly as has silver. The London quotations on February 25 were as follows. Fine gold 106s 4d per ounce, exchange with New York 386 cents per £, silver 925 fine 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ d per ounce, exchange with Calcutta 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ d per rupee. On the same day foreign silver bullion was quoted in New York at 54 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per ounce fine. According to these quotations, the rupee, which contains 165 grains of fine silver, could on that day purchase in London 215 grains, or, in other words, while the rupee was worth 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, the 165 grains it contains were worth in sterling only 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d—that is, 77 of the value of the rupee coin. But although the rupee thus seems to have been again unlinked from silver, the Secretary of State's announced policy of linking the rupee with gold at the rate of ten rupees to a sovereign, or 11 3 grains of gold to the rupee, is farther than ever from being accomplished.

The London quotations given above mean that on February 25 the value of the paper pound sterling was only 80 per cent of that of the sovereign. Instead of being worth the 113 grains of gold contained in the sovereign, it was worth

only 90 grains. And although the rupee was quoted at 15½d sterling, it was worth only 5 7 grains of gold, instead of the 11 3 grains aimed at by the Secretary of State, in other words, measured in gold, the rupee was worth on that day in London only 12 2d—almost exactly one-twentieth of a sovereign, instead of the intended value of one-tenth of a sovereign.

Before the war, when the rupee was stabilized at 15 4d, the sovereign readily passed from hand to hand in India at the rate of fifteen rupees. Now, although an Act has been promulgated making the sovereign legal tender at the rate of ten rupees, it sells in India at the value of the 11 3 grains of gold contained in it, and its price in rupees varies with the varying exchange value of the rupee coin, measured in gold. On February 2, 1921, the quotation for mint gold in Calcutta was Rs 28/5 per tola of 180 grains, so that the value of 11 3 grains of gold was nearly eighteen rupees, and the sovereign sold at about that figure. Now that the value of the rupee in London, measured in gold, is only a fraction over one-twentieth of a sovereign, it is probable that the sovereign coin now commands in the Indian bazaars nearly twenty rupees instead of the ten rupees aimed at by the Secretary of State.

The trouble has arisen mainly owing to the recent phenomenal fall in the world's price of silver. In 1913 the average price of silver in London was 27 6d (measured in gold) per ounce 925 fine, so that one ounce of gold was worth 34 ounces of silver, and the corresponding price in New York was about 60 cents per ounce fine. During the war and after the Armistice (owing largely to India's urgent demand for silver, because she was refused the gold her people wanted, as I explained in my previous article) the price of silver rose by leaps and bounds, and on January 31, 1920—just before the Secretary of State announced his new currency policy on February 2—it was quoted in London at 83d per ounce 925 fine, and as on the same date the price of gold in London was 117s per ounce, this meant that on that date in London one ounce of gold would exchange for only 15 7 ounces of fine silver. The price of fine silver in New York on that day was about 133 cents per ounce,

which gives the ratio there as 1 to 15 5. During the last thirteen months the world's price of silver has fallen as rapidly as it rose, and on February 25, 1921, the prices quoted were—in London 31½ paper pence per ounce, and in New York 54½ cents per ounce, both of which quotations give an ounce of gold as worth 38 ounces of silver. So that silver is now worth even less (measured in gold) than it was in 1913.

The chief reasons for this extraordinary fall in the value of silver, measured in gold apparently are as follows. During the war many countries restricted the export of gold and collected as much gold as they could secure. More especially, the United States increased its stock of gold by about 236 million sovereigns' worth. Asia was starved of its usual supply of gold, and accordingly demanded such immense quantities of silver that the price of silver rose very rapidly. Since the Armistice the restrictions on the movements of gold have been gradually relaxed, and the world's stock of gold has now been redistributed more in accordance with pre-war conditions. During the year ending with June, 1920, the United States parted with about 80 million sovereigns' worth, and from that country and the United Kingdom put together India took 35 million sovereigns' worth, China 23, and Japan 17 besides what they got from Australia and other countries while South America took 34 million sovereigns' worth. When they got the gold they wanted, their demand for silver fell off, and as several European countries were parting with their silver currency, to be replaced by paper, the supply of silver was increased in this way as well as by new production, so that naturally the price of silver, whether measured in gold or in commodities generally, rapidly fell. Both India and China have recently been exporting silver, even at the present low price, and it seems that their demand for silver has been fairly well satisfied for the present, while their demand for gold continues. It seems, therefore, on the whole probable that the price of silver, measured in gold, which has already returned to about the pre-war level, will not for some time rise much above it, and may rather be expected to fall further. It must be

remembered that in 1902 the price of standard silver in London fell below 22 pence per ounce

It now seems certain that the Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency, when they recommended that the Government should aim at stabilizing the rupee at the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign—that is, of one rupee for 11 3 grains of fine gold—did not anticipate the great fall that has taken place in the price of silver, and that the policy which they recommended, and which was adopted by the Secretary of State, is now practically impossible of attainment. I may be pardoned if I recall that in a memorandum, dated July 17, 1919, submitted to the Committee, I pointed out the likelihood of the fall in the demand for silver that would take place as soon as the restrictions on movements of gold were removed, and said that by 1922 the price of silver might be as low as 30 pence per ounce, as compared with the then price of 53 pence. At the same time I recommended that the Government of India should announce that it would make it its aim to restore the exchange value of the rupee to 1s 4d—that is, to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 7 53 grains of gold—as the policy most likely to be successful and fairest to all the interests concerned. The course of events adds strength to that recommendation. At all events, it is high time to give up the futile attempts to make the rupee worth one-tenth of a sovereign, which are doomed to failure, and which remind one of King Canute's endeavours to stem the flowing tide. Indeed, now that the rupee is worth less than one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and seems likely to fall further, as the silver contained in it is now worth less than a paper shilling, the Government may be well content if its value in exchange can be stabilized at 1s 4d sterling, and so be linked to the pound sterling, in the hope that it may rise with the value of the paper pound, and ultimately become equal to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 7 53 grains of gold.

The success of the policy of closing the Mints in 1893 was due to its stopping any increase in the quantity of rupee currency available, and so, by the operation of the law of supply and demand, gradually raising the value of the rupee coin as

the demand increased with the increase in trade and prosperity, while the supply was gradually reduced by loss or melting. But at that time there were in existence only about 2,000 million rupee coins, and since then, owing to the short-sighted action of the Indian Treasury, over 2,000 million rupee coins have been minted and issued, and there are probably now about 4,000 million in India. Many of these are no doubt in hoards, but they will be brought into circulation in large numbers if the rupee rises in value in comparison with silver, and the prices of commodities, expressed in rupees, show a consequent tendency to fall. There are also now in circulation notes to the value of 1,636 million rupees, so that the quantity of currency available for the purpose of exchange with commodities is about 5,600 million rupees each of which is at present worth less than 6 grains of gold.

The first step necessary to raise the gold value of the rupee above its present level is to stop any addition to the existing supply by definitely closing the Mints to the coinage of silver, as was done in 1893. The next step is to reduce the embarrassing quantity of notes in circulation, which required frantic and costly efforts on the part of the Government of India three years ago to maintain their convertibility. The resources immediately available for this purpose are (1) in the Currency Reserve in millions of rupees' worth—silver coin and bullion 632, gold coin and bullion 240, securities 764—total 1,636 million rupees, and (2) in the Gold Standard Reserve British Government securities to the value of £38,000,000. Part of these reserves might well be utilized to call in and cancel currency notes, in order to reduce the quantity of currency in circulation, and so help to keep up the exchange value of the rupee. No doubt, if securities had to be sold, there would be some loss on their sale, but unless some action of the kind is taken the exchange value of the rupee is likely to fall still further, which would cause greater loss, not only to the Government, but to millions of the Indian population. Merchants would also grumble at the reduction in the quantity of currency available for purposes of financing trade, but if they have still

4,000 million rupees and, say, 1,000 million in notes to draw upon, that should surely suffice for all purposes, and they will be more seriously embarrassed if the rate of exchange falls further than if the quantity of currency in circulation is reduced. These measures may not be sufficient to keep the rupee at the value even of one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and it may become necessary to undo the mischief caused by the excessive minting of two years ago, and to melt down rupees in large quantities and sell the metal as bullion, even at a considerable loss.

I understand from what the Finance Member said in Council on September 2, 1920, and from the return of the Indian Paper Currency Reserve for October 7, when the value of the gold coin and bullion in India was suddenly reduced from 362 million rupees to 239, that the gold in the Reserve, which was formerly reckoned at the rate of fifteen rupees to the sovereign, is now reckoned at the rate of ten rupees to the sovereign. If that is so, the gold coin and bullion, which is now valued at 240 million rupees, is really equivalent to 24 million sovereigns, and could be sold at public auction in India for something like 432 million rupees at eighteen rupees to the sovereign, the current bazaar price. The sale of this gold would enable the withdrawal of 432 million rupees' worth of currency notes at at least a large nominal profit to the Currency Reserve. Similarly, the 38 million pounds' worth of British Government securities held in the Gold Standard Reserve could be sold for about 570 million rupees, at the current rate of exchange of over fifteen rupees to the pound sterling, which would enable the withdrawal of 570 million rupees' worth of currency notes, and so far reduce the supply of currency in circulation and help to keep up the value of the rupee. I do not suggest that all this gold and all these securities should be sold at once, but merely point out that, if a reduction in the quantity of currency in circulation is considered necessary for the purpose of keeping up the exchange value of the rupee, there are ample resources available. And Currency and Gold Standard Reserves are of little use unless they are utilized in such a crisis as now threatens the finances of India.

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

## INDIAN JUTE

BY SIR CHARLES MCLEOD

IT is very difficult within the limits prescribed to write an article on jute. It has so many and such varied uses throughout the world that it would fill a considerable volume to detail and enumerate them. It would also be a very long business to give details of the manufacture of an article like jute, but the following short résumé will, I think, enlist the interest of those who may not know what a useful and valuable monopoly of Bengal this is.

The early history of jute lies in obscurity. It may have been cultivated in a small or large way centuries ago, for the natives of India are so conservative in their ways that what we may have thought was a beginning in the eighteenth century may have been as ancient as some of the temple ruins one sees or reads about in various parts of India. As a pot-herb the leaves are extensively used in India still, and the "Encyclopædia Britannica" states that jute-leaves were used for this purpose from very ancient times, if the plant may be identified with the "mallows" mentioned in Job xxx 4 "Who cut up mallows by the bushes?" The same authority states "It is certain the Greeks used this plant as a pot-herb, and by many other nations around the shores of the Mediterranean this use of it was and is still common." It might even be suggested that tents used in ancient times by the great army of Mahomet were probably partly made of the fibre. We must not, however, labour this point, and if we start on the fact that we have some knowledge of jute being handled in a small way in 1746, and

grown pretty freely in the northern districts of Bengal in 1804, we have at least an authentic starting-point Mr Finlow states that in 1829 some 20 tons of jute were exported from Calcutta, and although the next five years only saw a small advance, averaging under 600 tons per annum, the exports increased very considerably during the next ten or fifteen years, and eventually reached the very substantial figure of 800,000 tons in 1911-12 The principal districts in which jute is grown are Mymensingh Rungpur, Tipperah and Purnea

There are two principal species of jute—*Corchorus capsularis* and *Corchorus olitorius*. The former is easily distinguished by its round pods, while the latter has long cylindrical pods. *Capsularis* is almost exclusively grown in the northern districts, and *Olitorius* is extensively cultivated in the Hooghly and twenty-four Pargana districts and in Western Bengal. This latter species has the advantage of being more easily decorticated than *Capsularis* which is of considerable advantage. On the other hand, *Capsularis* plants can stand submersion better than *Olitorius*, and, generally speaking, are less easily affected by adverse climatic conditions. Notwithstanding these peculiarities, it has been proved beyond all doubt that each of these principal species of jute would yield a different class of fibre if subjected to different conditions of soil and climatic influences. The best jute is produced on the higher lands, especially if well cultivated. Jute on the lower lands is generally cut before it has time to ripen or reach maturity, owing to fear of floods and loss of plant. Another species of jute is grown chiefly on the Madras side as "Bimli" jute. It is in every respect inferior to the Bengal jute, being shorter and coarser. It has, however, come into considerable requisition in late years owing to an improvement in the treatment and packing, and also, I believe, on account of its comparative cheapness as compared with Bengal jute. Its production has also considerably expanded during the last five or six years.

The preservation of seed has received considerable attention of late years, helped by experiments conducted by the Government Department of Agriculture. In former years seed was

raised from stunted plants on the outside edges of the jute-fields, and naturally, being obtained from the poorest plants, proved disappointing. As in dealing with many other industries in India, the ryot pays insufficient attention to keeping seed grown from the healthiest plants, with the result that year after year the same old seed from the same old and weak plants has been preserved since the original bagful came out of the Ark! A little more care and an interchange of seed would materially increase the outturn and improve the quality of the jute as well. Jute in India can be grown in almost any soil which has a good depth and has the necessary material required to fertilize it. On the alluvial soils in Eastern Bengal, where the rivers and khals leave a rich deposit annually, jute grows freely without any artificial help. On the other hand, the higher lands are heavily manured and yield heavy crops, not only on this account, but also owing to the fact that jute grown on the higher lands is immune from floods and has a much better chance of ripening. An ample rainfall is, of course an essential to supply moisture, and later on steeping water for 'retting' the plant when cut. Rain-water is generally considered more beneficial than irrigation, however ample. Early in February the ploughing commences on the low-lying lands, and continues to the beginning of May on the higher lands.

The process is crude enough, and it is difficult to believe, at a later stage, when the plants appear in full growth, that a scraping of the earth with a crooked piece of stick drawn by a pair of emaciated bullocks could possibly have produced such a result. After the land is ploughed and pulverized the seed is sown broadcast and in quantities of from 6 to 12 pounds an acre. After this has been done the ground is raked or harrowed and the plants allowed to germinate and grow to a height of a few inches, when the rake is again used to stir up the soil and stimulate the growth of the plant. This raking process is also useful in keeping down the very healthy crop of young weeds that come up with the germinated plant. At times they grow quicker than the plants, and are very troublesome. At

a later stage weeding and thinning take place, and then the plants are allowed to reach maturity without further interference

The period of reaping varies according to circumstances and climatic conditions. On the lowlands cutting starts about the end of June, if there is any danger of the fields being flooded, cutting is commenced even earlier. Early-cut jute is never very satisfactory, it is usually immature, short, and mossy. The process of "retting" usually takes anything from ten to thirty-five days, according to the time of year. In July and August, when the temperature of the water is high, the process is quicker and the jute is ready for further handling, but in September and later months it takes quite a month to "ret" the plants. The experienced grower can tell at once when the 'retting' process is complete, and then the plants are taken out of the water, the fibre extracted, washed, and dried—and here, again, climatic conditions play a prominent part. Heavy and continuous rain prevents the drying and very often, as we know, makes the crop late in coming to market. When the jute is sufficiently dry, it is rolled up in drums and sent to the nearest market or sold locally to small dealers, who take it away to some of the large centres in country boats and dispose of it at a considerable profit. Many of these country boats make their way down to Calcutta and sell their cargoes to the jute mills along the River Hooghly.

The principal jute markets are at Naraingunge, Serajunge, Chandpur, Madaripur, Jagannathgunge, Purnea, Julpaiguri, Koostea, Goalundo, and during the season these centres present scenes of animation and extraordinary activity.

The use of jute-presses in the jute districts has greatly facilitated transport. In 1891 there were only nine or ten presses in Eastern Bengal, whereas the number is now about 130. These presses are used to pack what are known as 'cutcha' bales, containing 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  maunds, and are usually sold to mills and large balers. The exported bale to Europe and other countries is of a fixed standard of 5 maunds, or 400 pounds. The packing is chiefly done in Calcutta, where the pressing-houses

have increased from fifteen or so in 1885 to about forty at the present date Adjoining the press-house are large stores or "go-downs," where jute is assorted into the various standards required for the European market The packing business was formerly in the hands of Bengalis, but with two exceptions this part of the trade has passed into the hands of Marwarris, outside, of course, of the European balers, such as Ralli Bros , Duffus, Steel, and the Chittagong and Naraingunge companies

Normally jute is the cheapest fibre for providing bags to carry the produce of nearly the whole world It carries all the valuable wool and grain from our Australasian colonies, from America, South America, and, indeed any quarter of the world where grain and oil-seeds are produced It is used for the internal carriage of goods in every part of the globe, for covering cotton bales, tarpaulins, carpets, and even shirts are made from it in Dundee Hem Chundra Kar, in his official report on jute issued many years ago gives the following interesting varieties of uses to which jute was put in the Midnapur district (1) Gunny bags (2) string rope, and cord , (3) *kampa* a net-like bag for carrying wood or hay on bullocks , (4) *chat* a strip of stuff for tying bales of cotton or cloth , (5) *shika* a kind of hanging shelf for little earthen pots , (6) *dulina* a floor-cloth , (7) *beera* a small circular stand for wooden plates, used particularly in the poojahs , (8) brushes for painting and white-washing , (9) *ghansi* a waist-band worn next to the skin , (10) *gochh-dari* a hair-band worn by women , (11) *mukbar* a net-bag used as a muzzle for cattle , (12) *parchula* false hair worn by players (13) *rakhi-bandhan*, a slender arm-band worn at the Rakhi-poornima festival , (14) *dhup* small incense-sticks used at poojahs , (15) *dola* a swing on which infants are rocked to sleep It was, as we know, extensively used for sand-bags in the late war It has no real rival, and is not likely to have as far as one can see

## COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF INDIAN WOODS

IT will be the aim of the writer of this article to describe as shortly as possible some of the more prepossessing woods which can be shipped from India, together with their commercial prospects when imported into this country. It is also desired to show the various stages during the last few years which have resulted in the Government of India taking up the prosecution of its forest resources more vigorously. In order to discuss the various merits of these woods it will be necessary to mention other woods from other parts of the world, and the kind reader's indulgence is asked, and it is hoped that he will not think that the real subject of the article has been left too far in the distance. The user of woods always has to compare the merits of one wood with another, and it is only by a comparison of this sort that it is possible to arrive at the true value of the woods of India.

Generally speaking, it must be admitted that the United Kingdom has adopted a very short-sighted policy as regards its timbers and the timbers of its Dominions. It has neither encouraged the use nor the cultivation of either British or Dominion timbers in the past, and before the war it depended almost entirely on foreign nations for its supplies of every kind. The soft woods for common building material were imported from Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway, the decorative timbers that were fashionable were oak, mahogany, and walnut. Oak was imported in enormous quantities from America, Austria, and Russia. Mahogany was imported mainly from the West Coast of Africa, but also from the island of Cuba, from Nicaragua, and from British Honduras. Walnut was imported from America, the Crimea, and France. Enormous quantities of other timbers for various purposes, such as

American ash, pitch pine, spruce, Oregon pine, and American whitewood, were also imported. Architects made a point of specifying Austrian oak, though it is open to question whether some of the actual supplies did not hail from Libau and Southern Russia. Such specifications were common in spite of the fact that English oak is the finest oak in the world, while excellent supplies were also available from Japan. It must, however, be admitted that the foreign traders knew very well how to supply exactly what was required, they shipped their supplies generally in good condition, they kept up large stocks of good quality, and they cut their planks and boards with both edges squared so that there was little waste incurred by the consumer.

When the war came the country was thrown back on its own resources and the resources of its Dominions for supplies of timber. Of necessity use was made of the English woods, and it began to be generally realized that it would be wiser in the future to cultivate the home-grown product as well as to extend the production of timber by the Dominions, and not to rely entirely on foreigners, who would only provide supplies when it suited them to do so.

The result of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 has been to urge the Government of India to exploit more seriously the forest wealth of that country. It would not be amiss perhaps to quote briefly from the Report drawn up by this Commission. In Chapter III, on 'Raw Materials for Industries,' the Index quotes "Forests," "The extent and value of the Government forests," "Incomplete use made of forest resources," "Necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations," "Failures to develop industries dependent upon forest products," "Necessity of plantations." Page 40. "The exports of forest produce in the same year (1913-14) were valued at Rs 454 lakhs. The principal export (all others being produce other than timber) which can be assigned wholly or mainly to this source was teak, valued at Rs 78 lakhs. The value of other timbers (excluding sandal-wood) was only Rs 7 lakhs."

The Report continues "The above figures will have shown that the national forest estate is of vast extent and value, but a scrutiny of the output per square mile proves that its actual yield has hitherto lagged far behind its possibilities, and is, in most cases, greatly in defect of what the natural increment must be. The chief needs of the Forest Department are undoubtedly the development of transport facilities, the exploitation of the forest on more *commercial* lines, and the extension of research and experimental work, which should when necessary be carried out on a larger scale and under commercial conditions. Another important deficiency to which we desire to draw attention is the absence of information of commercial value regarding the products of the forests, and of commercial methods in rendering them available for industries. We would refer especially to the advantages which would arise from putting the timber on the market as far as possible in the form of standard scantlings. In certain cases, especially in Burma, the exploitation of timbers has been handed over to private agency on long leases. The Forest Department claims that such an arrangement is pecuniarily advantageous to Government, and there is evidence to show that private firms are unwilling to remove or unable to find a market for the less known timbers which are usually too heavy to float." After touching upon these problems the Report continues with a very important clause which emphasizes the necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations.

As will have already been seen, there was up to this time practically only one wood that had really been exported on any scale—namely, teak. The demand for this is so great, and its wonderful and unique qualities are so well known, that it is hardly necessary to speak further upon it. Otherwise the vast forests of India had only been exploited for more or less local requirements. One cannot help contrasting this with the situation in America, where every wood is known and used the world over.

In January, 1919, partly as a result of the above-mentioned

Industrial Commission, the Government of India appointed a well-known London timber firm as their sole selling agents in the United Kingdom and Europe. Experimental consignments were sent to London in order to find out which timbers were most likely to meet with a favourable reception from the conservative English consumer.

About nine months ago an Empire Timber Exhibition was held under the auspices of the Overseas Trade Department of the Board of Trade. The Government of India and their advisers realized that this was a good opportunity to introduce some of the more decorative Indian timbers, and what was possibly the most comprehensive collection of furniture, paneling, flooring, and so forth, in Indian woods which has ever been seen was there exhibited. It was decided that little would be gained by a mere display of rough planks and boards, however perfect they might be in quality and striking in appearance. Consequently, there were shown model rooms, parqueted panelled, and furnished throughout entirely in Indian woods. This Exhibition was such a success that it was kept open for a week longer than had been originally intended. Most of the large consumers of high-class woods, including many architects and railway chiefs, paid a visit.

The timbers which generally created the most interest were padouk, Indian silver greywood, laurel-wood, gurjun, Indian white mahogany, and sissoo. A short description of these might perhaps be of interest.

*Padouk*—Padouk is a rich reddish-brown wood, which is sometimes of a brilliant crimson colour streaked with dark brown, and often finely 'figured'. It is very strong and durable, and in elasticity exceeds most woods, it weighs about 50 pounds per cubic foot. Its chief value is for ornamental decorative work, such as paneling, parquet flooring, and furniture. Examples of its use for all these purposes were shown at the Exhibition, it formed part of the paneling and flooring of the entrance hall and staircase, it decorated the railway carriage built by the Great Eastern Railway, and it was used for all kinds of furniture and small work. It has been successfully

tested in India for propellers and longerons of aeroplanes. There are two species of padouk, one of which is obtained from Burma and the other from the Andaman Islands, the latter of which is the finer coloured wood. There are large supplies available. It will work at the machine like a very "roey" Cuba mahogany, slightly brittle, with a tendency to "chip" out at the arrises if fed too fast, under the hand plane the "roey" figure is left slightly dull, and the surface must be finished with the 'scraper', the tools stand up to the wood quite well, and it requires no more attention than is usually given to mahogany or walnut of good firm quality.

*Silver Greywood*—While somewhat resembling Italian walnut, Indian silver greywood has a very distinctive silvery tinge on a greyish-brown ground, and is generally streaked and marked with a deeper grey. The wood is very effective for all kinds of decorative work. It was exhibited as flooring and panelling and for the decorative part of the first-class railway carriage which was shown. It is obtainable in large quantities of good quality. It may be described as being quite easy to work, and it can be compared with good-quality mild, straight-grained ash.

*Laurel-wood*—This is a dark greyish-brown mottled wood. It is very beautifully marked with a wavy undulating figure, and was used to panel the billiard-room which was exhibited, and which was very generally admired. It works in what is technically described as a 'glassy' way under the machine-cutters, and must be fed slowly, it is heavy work to prepare with the hand plane, but 'scrapes' well, and gives a good finish.

*Gurjun*—A wood which for many purposes can replace teak at one-half the cost is gurjun, which is obtainable from the Andaman Islands, in almost unlimited quantities, in large sizes of excellent quality. It has a mellow brown colour, and contains, like teak, a valuable natural oil, which allows it to be constructed in proximity to steel without any damaging chemical action taking place. It is admirable for all kinds of constructional work, and for the cheaper kinds of flooring and

panelling it is difficult to find a better wood. The railway carriage of which mention has been made, and which probably attracted more attention than any other one exhibit, was constructed of gurjun. The wood was also used to panel the dining-room. It strongly resembles a "mild" teak, but does not dull the tools so quickly, and can be "fed" over the machines at a good speed, it surfaces well under the bench plane, from which it should be left (*i.e.*, should not be scraped), when glasspaper is used it seems to cause the accumulation of the oil which the wood exudes. This oil no doubt makes the wood most valuable, as it acts as a preservative.

*Indian White Mahogany*—Indian white mahogany, one of the cheapest of the exhibited Indian woods, proved one of the most attractive for general use. It is very light both in weight and in colour, and in grain it resembles some grades of mahogany. It is very "kind" to the tools and quite as easy to work as the silver greywood before mentioned, save that in the inferior qualities it is likely to work "woolly".

*Sissoo*—Sissoo is a wood which Gamble, in his "Manual of Indian Timbers," says is probably the finest wood in India for furniture and carving. It is a warm rich brown colour with golden streaks. The texture is firm and compact, and the wood stands well without warping and splitting. While it will probably be most largely used for fine furniture such as was shown at the Exhibition, it has other qualities which fit it for stronger work. In India, for instance its strength and durability have caused it to be used by the Ordnance Department for the wheels of gun-carriages obviously a hard test for any wood.

Very largely as a result of this exhibition there has been a greatly increased demand for woods other than mahogany, oak, and walnut for decorative work, and it seems probable that Indian woods will come into their own. It has evidently been realized that if such fine work as that shown at the Exhibition can be produced with almost entirely unknown woods (padouk was probably the only wood that the average trader in England would have recognized), and if they are to be

imported in considerable quantities at a lower cost than those which have been previously obtained, they are worth careful consideration

The first forward step was that all the more important railway companies placed considerable orders for gurjun-wood for railway scantlings. Since 1914 railway carriage scantlings have become more and more difficult to obtain, before the war they were supplied at an exceedingly low cost cut to the exact required dimensions in American oak. Owing to the large quantities that were wanted at the beginning of the war, this source failed, and English oak was used for the purpose. At the present time it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain English oak in sufficiently large quantities and long lengths, and this want is beginning to be filled by the gurjun of India. One of the railway companies ordered sufficient padouk, silver greywood and gurjun to make three complete trains.

The next step was the introduction of Indian woods into the fittings and panelling of large buildings. It is now becoming apparent that the more important building contractors are taking up these valuable woods seriously, and a few examples may be of interest. A considerable amount of work is now being done at the new County Hall, Westminster, in laurel-wood under the direction of Mr Ralph Knott, of Messrs Knott and Collins, architects. Laurel, silver greywood, padouk, and gurjun-wood are being used in a building in Eastcheap under the direction of Mr A H Kersey. The contractors in both the above cases are Messrs Holland and Hannen and Cubitts, Ltd.

The new offices of the General Electric Co, Birmingham, are being panelled fitted, and furnished throughout in Indian silver greywood, for this work Messrs Wallis, Gilbert and Partners are the architects.

The new offices of the Guardian Assurance Co, opposite the Monument station, are being decorated in laurel-wood, and the floorings will be of gurjun-wood. In this work Messrs Higgs and Hill, Ltd, are the contractors.

A large proportion of the flooring at the new factory at

Silvertown built for Messrs Wm Vernon and Sons, Ltd, was done in gurjun-wood, and something like 400 squares of this flooring were used

A considerable quantity of gurjun-wood has been employed by Messrs F G Minter, the well-known firm of contractors

The new board-room for Messrs Bovis, Ltd, in Upper Berkeley Street, was entirely panelled and furnished in padouk. And, finally, laurel-wood and padouk are being employed by the Bank of England for desk tops and fitments

The above are only a few instances of the more important work which is being done in England at the present moment in these valuable woods. The list would indeed be a long one if it were attempted to make it complete, but the intention has been to quote individual cases where it will be possible to see at an early date work actually completed in the various woods that appear to be worthy of the most careful consideration.

It should be added perhaps that the furniture which was shown at the Empire Timber Exhibition was taken over for sale purpose by Messrs Waring and Gillow, and can now be seen at their showrooms in Oxford Street.

The descriptions as to the actual working of the various woods have been kindly furnished to the writer of this article by an expert who has probably had more experience of the use of these valuable woods than anyone else up to the present time in London.

## THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN TRADE

BY FRANCIS H. SISSON

Vice President, Guaranty Trust Company of New York

THE foreign trade of the United States with the countries of the Far East is now running about one billion and five hundred millions of dollars annually. This compares with about six billions for Europe and a little more than one billion for Latin America. American trade with the Far East has thus reached second place.

While American imports from the Far East with the exception of those originating in Japan, consist almost entirely of raw materials for use in American industries, a considerable proportion of which are returned to the producers in manufactured form, American exports to the Far East consist almost entirely of manufactured goods. The constant improvement in character and quality of the goods exported from America to the Far East is highly significant. Starting long ago with petroleum, cotton piece goods and cheap hardware, exports to the Far East have gradually included the best products of American industries.

## DEMAND FOR LUXURIES WIDENS

This is particularly true of the American trade with China. What at first is a luxury soon becomes a necessity in China, as elsewhere. As a former Chinese Minister to the United States remarked "The Chinese nature is not much different from that of other human beings. A young merchant from the interior comes to Shanghai for the first time. He is taken about and entertained by the local merchants. He is introduced to some of the delights of the modern civilization. He longs for luxury once he has

tasted it. He likes the cigarettes, he likes the scented soaps, the wines, the perfumery, foreign clothes, automobiles, upholstered furniture, and so on. These things are largely beyond his reach because of their cost, but as he begins to feel better financially, he adds to his stock of foreign introduced luxuries and enjoys them."

The tremendous increase in American trade with Asia applies to practically all its important trading sections. To Japan our sales in the year ending June 30, 1920, were \$460,000,000, against \$51,000,000 in 1914—nine times as much in the after war year as in the pre-war year. To China the exports in the fiscal year 1920 were \$115,000,000, compared with \$25,000,000 in 1914, to India, \$78,000,000 while they were \$11,000,000 in 1914, or seven times as much now as immediately preceding the war, to the Dutch East Indies, \$45,000,000, against slightly less than \$4,000,000 in 1914—twelve times as much in 1920 as in 1914, to the Philippines \$72,000,000 as contrasted with \$27,000,000 in 1914, to Hongkong \$20,000,000 in 1920 and \$10,000,000 in 1914 and to the Straits Settlements \$15,000,000 compared with \$4,000,000 in 1914.

On the import side the increase in the trade by countries is correspondingly great. American imports from Japan aggregated a little more than \$500,000,000 against \$107,000,000 in 1914 from China, \$225,000,000, as contrasted with \$40,000,000 in 1914, from India \$180,000,000, while they were \$74,000,000 in 1914, from the Dutch East Indies \$97,000,000 compared with \$6,000,000 in 1914, and from the Philippines, \$70,000,000, against \$18,000,000 in the year before the war.

#### IMPORTANT AMERICAN FACTORS

The important factors in the growth of American trade with Asia are

1 Improvement of direct shipping facilities between American and Asiatic ports. During May, 1920, forty

nine American vessels called at Shanghai. In 1919 the entrances and clearances of vessels on the Pacific Coast of the United States amounted to 39,000,000 tons

2 The establishment of American banks. Where there was formerly only one American branch in Shanghai, there are now seven American banks. Fully equipped American banks are also in operation in Hongkong, Canton, Changsha, Hankow, Peking, Tientsin, Manila, Yokohama, Singapore, and Bombay

3 American missionary educational institutions are helping develop Chinese industry along the most scientific and modern lines. The College of Agriculture and Forestry at Nanking University is a notable instance

4 The work of American medical missionaries in improving sanitary conditions in Asia. The new medical school erected in the centre of Peking by the Rockefeller Institute alone cost six million dollars and its endowment will cost another half-million dollars per annum

The visit of the American Silk Commission to China and also the visit to China and Japan of Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Co., in connection with the consortium project, have done much to benefit American interests in China. America is taking a very large proportion of the silk produced in China and could take a great deal more.

How far reaching is the American trade with the Orient may be gathered from the fact that on two ships sailing recently from San Francisco to Far Eastern ports there were 304 different commodities, and that on the return journey to the United States these same vessels carried 153 different commodities.

#### JAPANESE TRADE

American imports from Japan cover a wide and interesting range. The principal articles imported regularly by the United States are articles which that country does not produce itself because of conditions which make production

unprofitable, such as silk, tea, and camphor, or such commodities as it does not produce in sufficient quantity for domestic use, such as beans, peas, soya bean oil, peanuts for oil, and braid for hats. A large share consists of the miscellaneous type of small wares which are usually thought of as Oriental goods—typical Japanese products.

Heavy American purchases enable Japan in turn to buy from the United States many raw, semi-manufactured, and manufactured materials which the United States produces, or can produce, in excess of domestic needs. Examples of such materials are raw cotton, iron and steel, machinery and engines, kerosene oil, and chemicals. In other words, there is a sound basis for the exchange of commodities between the two countries to their mutual advantage. In 1919, the total foreign trade of Japan was 4,259,600,000 yen, of which 1,587,268,400 yen was with the United States.

#### GROWING TRADE WITH PHILIPPINES AND DUTCH EAST INDIES

Another Far Eastern market in which American trade is growing rapidly is the Philippines. This archipelago of 3,000 islands with a total population of 10,500,000 produces a variety of raw products of great value such as hemp, sugar, copra, coconut oil, tobacco, fruits, spices, lumber, and rubber. It offers a splendid market for agricultural machinery, implements, automobiles, motor trucks, foodstuffs, iron, steel, cement, and building materials. The Dutch East Indies, 'the treasure-house of the Netherlands,' is another eastern market, with a population of 48,000,000, which is now buying direct from the United States and exporting direct to that market. In 1919, the Dutch East Indies bought American goods to a total value of \$20,000,000. Exports from the Dutch East Indies to the United States in the same year amounted to \$78,743,000.

### CHINESE CONSORTIUM

Acting upon the initiative of the American Government the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Japan agreed to encourage the formation of strong banking groups in each of the four countries, these groups to act together as a consortium in affording financial assistance to China in the upbuilding of her great public enterprises. It is quite possible that, from the humanitarian point of view, one of the greatest benefits that may come to China from the work of the bankers' consortium will be eventually the prevention of famine. China can easily raise her own food supply in any year. Failure of crops, or their destruction by flood, does not extend throughout the country. It is only a local phenomenon although in some sections, where the population is denser than in any part of Europe, millions may die within a relatively restricted area.

The consortium will not concern itself with general enterprises in banking, industry, and commerce, but will include within its scope the development of transportation systems, highways, and the reorganization of the currency. It is understood that one of the leading purposes of the consortium is to extend as widely and rapidly as possible the Chinese railway system. Naturally these extensions will be built on the most strategic routes from the economic viewpoint, so that supplies can be most readily transported from one section of the country to the other, from the interior to the coast, and from the coast to the interior. As has been repeatedly proved—in China, in India, and during the period since the armistice, even in Europe—famines can be promptly held in check or relief afforded if only adequate means of transportation can be supplied.

China offers a rich market for the products of American industry. During the next twenty years that country must buy large quantities of steel rails, bridge material, and American railway equipment of all kinds. The country calls for electrical equipment, farming implements, cotton

mill machinery, and machine tools. Then, it will require quantities of mining machinery, both for the baser and precious metals. Finally, the Chinese people will require on a prodigious scale the many domestic appurtenances that American ingenuity has evolved.

The United States Government proposed that the consortium should be in the nature of a free and full partnership among the banking groups of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, that not only future options which might be granted, but concessions already held by individual banking groups on which substantial progress has not been made should, so far as feasible, be pooled with the consortium.

The Far Eastern field affords tremendous opportunities and wide scope for the energy and ability of American business enterprise. The current figures of the volume of trade between the United States and the countries of the Far East furnish ample grounds for the belief held by many interested observers that the greater future of American trade lies across the Pacific rather than the Atlantic. Asia is now on the threshold of a marvellous development. The business leaders of the world are turning their eyes towards that great continent with its vast natural and human resources.

During the period 1914 to 1920, the international commerce of the Far East doubled in value, while its trade with the United States sextupled in the same period. The countries of the Far East, including India, Burma, and Ceylon, bought from the United States \$125,000,000 worth of products in the year before the war, and \$850,000,000 in the fiscal year 1920. The United States bought from the Far East \$250,000,000 worth of products in 1914, and \$1,350,000,000 worth in 1920. These figures emphasize very clearly the constantly increasing importance of the United States in the development of the resources and industries of the Far East.

## EDUCATIONAL SECTION

*(In this new section it is proposed to examine the systems of education which have been adopted in various Asiatic countries)*

### I

#### THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE ISLAND OF JAVA

By N SCHELTEMA  
(Late Assistant Resident in Java)

ONE of the most difficult problems for the Dutch Government in these days is that of education

This matter may be divided into two parts education for the natives and that for the European and Chinese inhabitants of those islands On the one hand, the Government has to provide for a population of millions, with an ever-increasing demand for education, on the other, for a class of colonists of much smaller number, but of considerably higher development, and therefore not easily satisfied regarding the quality of what is given to them

Though many schools, particularly those for instruction in trades and the agricultural and technical branches are open to children of all nationalities, provided they are capable of following the set course successfully there is a group of schools especially for the natives and another group for the European part of the population

In this article I will give a brief synopsis of the educational system for the natives, while that for the European (and Chinese) colonists may be sketched later

In former centuries the great mass of the Javanese—not to

speak of the more uncivilized inhabitants of the other islands—did not care for instruction and development. But the so-called 'Awakening of the East' has made itself felt also in Java. The natives are now longing for Western knowledge and civilization, and it can be said that our Government is very willing to assist them in their efforts and aids them by procuring all possible means for intellectual development. One of these is the creating of a great quantity of schools which supply the need of the lower classes of the Native population, for whom some elementary instruction is sufficient, as well as the longing of a constantly increasing number of the people for education along European lines which until a few years ago was only within the reach of the children of the higher classes.

The first instruction on a large scale was given in the so-called elementary schools of the second class the first of which were established about half a century ago. Before the founding of the "people's schools, or 'village schools,'" which I will mention later, the instruction given in these second-class schools was only elementary and consisted of the reading and writing of the language of the country the Malay language, and the principles of arithmetic. Later it became a little more advanced, and to the three grades those schools contained, in most of them a fourth and even a fifth grade was added.

For more advanced instruction than is given in the second-class schools there are schools of the first class since 1914 called 'Dutch-Native schools,' that have a seven years course are directed by a European instructor, are organized along the lines of the European primary schools, and prepare the pupils for continued instruction in the normal and training schools, as well as in the technical schools, that will be mentioned later. In these Dutch-Native schools the following subjects are taught the Dutch language, the language of the country and Malay, arithmetic, the geography of Holland and the Dutch-Indian Archipelago, and the rudiments of physics and biology.

Of these schools there were, in the end of 1918, 89 in Java and 32 in the Outlying Possessions, of the second-class schools,

there were 1,138 and 528 respectively, and their number is increasing every year

As, however, our Government could not satisfy this ever-increasing demand for more schools at once, as it was impossible to build hundreds of them a year and absolutely impossible to raise in a short time a whole army of teachers, a kind of transition period has been instituted by the establishment of a large number of more elementary schools the so-called "people's schools, or 'village schools

The founding of these schools is, theoretically, entirely left to the initiative of the village people themselves, in practice some compulsion on the part of the Dutch and Native officials had often to be practised in order to get a school placed where it was thought necessary. The villagers themselves build and furnish the schoolhouse for which the Government provides the necessary wood as well as free books and other equipments. The schoolmasters' salaries are paid from the school fees sometimes they receive the revenue from a piece of land given in usufruct to them by the villagers, and sometimes they are paid from the Government subsidy, while after a certain period of service they receive a pension

In these village schools the instruction is very elementary, and consists only of reading writing the very first rules of arithmetic, and a little physics and biology (as far as it can be applied in the pupils' daily life)

The tendency of these schools is to give some elementary education to the numerous lower class of the population—the peasants. In the meantime the second and first class schools would be less overcrowded, and only used by the children of the more cultured higher classes. And as it was not difficult to train in a short time a great quantity of teachers for these very elementary schools, several hundreds have been built every year during the last ten to fifteen years, and so there are now in Java about 5,000 and in the Outlying Possessions about 1,600, and their number is constantly increasing. It is a great pity, however, that the lower classes of the Native population do not yet fully understand the necessity of instruction. This

seems a contradiction of what I wrote a few moments ago—viz., that the natives now are longing for Western knowledge and civilization. I should have written the higher classes of the population. The fact is that those who have already some culture are longing for better education. They are understanding more and more that knowledge is power, they see, moreover, the direct profit of the skill they acquired in the shape of Government employment or some other lucrative post. The lower classes of the population, however, the simple, uncultured peasants, do not yet grasp that idea, they are still thinking, "Are conditions among the peasant population of the civilized European countries any different?"—that a man needs no knowledge of reading and writing and calculating to be a good farmer, and so they do not try their best to prevent their children from playing truant every now and then, to the great detriment of instruction. Thus the officials have to take measures in order to make school attendance as regular as possible.

In connection with the increasing desire of the natives for Western development it became necessary to revise and extend the primary instruction given to them.

One of the first measures to this effect was the already mentioned changing of the elementary schools of the first class into

Dutch-Native schools. But this was not enough, and soon schools for trade instruction and agriculture were established, and more advanced schools for professional education. In recent years much attention has been paid to trade instruction. Though the great mass of the population consists almost exclusively of farmers and skilled trades are to a great extent carried on by the Chinese—especially carpentry, joinery, gold and silver work—yet during the last years, as the standard of civilization became higher in these colonies, the need for skilled craftsmen increased, and so, in order to lead the native in this direction and give him an opportunity to learn these handicrafts, the first trade schools were established about fifteen years ago. In the beginning three large schools were opened in the three most important towns of Java, where carpentry, bench-work, and forging are taught, so that the graduated

pupils of these schools can easily find employment in Government institutions and European industrial undertakings. It seems, however, that none of them opened workshops of their own, and, as evidently the native handicrafts proper, particularly in the villages, were not influenced nor improved by these schools, it was thought necessary to establish more simple trade schools, with the object of raising a class of trained workmen who will not only find employment in industrial concerns, but also may be able to open shops of their own, so that gradually the standard of native handicrafts will reach a higher level.

Since then a great number of such schools have been opened in different parts of Java and Sumatra.

The history of the agricultural schools is about the same, in the sense that the few existing schools did not sufficiently answer the set purpose and so a large number of more simple schools have been established, which are scattered all over the country.

As for higher development, next to the normal-schools for native teachers, the training schools for native officials are the oldest institutions in the colony. In these training schools are taught the elements of jurisprudence, the State and administrative laws of the Dutch East Indies, the principles of political economy, the principles of agriculture and rural economy, surveying and book-keeping. There are now six of these schools in Java and two in the island of Sumatra.

Training schools for native teachers number six in Java (of which one is for women teachers) and three in the Outlying Possessions. In these schools the Dutch language is used as a teaching-medium.

For the purpose of training teachers for the elementary schools of the second class, so-called 'normal schools' have been established, where training is given by Native teachers, headed by a European instructor. Here the language of the country is the teaching medium. There are now twelve normal schools, of which nine are in Java, besides two for women-teachers, of which one is situated in the Outlying Possessions.

In 1909 a training school for native jurists was opened. This school has a six-year course, of which three are devoted to general education and three to the study of law, while care is taken that not only scientific training, but also moral education and the forming of character, are given the necessary attention.

A training school for doctors was already established about half a century ago, and a second school of this kind was opened in 1917. In these colleges very capable native physicians are trained, a matter of great importance when we take into consideration the large area of the colonies, where, of course, European physicians are scarce.

A diploma from these medical schools, as well as from the law school and a veterinary college that was opened a few years ago, exempts the students from a faculty examination in the Universities in Holland if they wish to continue their studies there, where they may obtain the same academic degrees as the other students of these Universities.

Besides the above-mentioned schools and colleges that were established by the Government, a great number of private institutions are in existence, sectarian as well as non-denominational schools. Of the first kind there are about 170 in Java and 1,770 in the Outlying Possessions of the neutral schools, about 230 and 470 respectively and more than two-thirds of all these private institutions receive a subsidy from the Government. Among them are elementary as well as more advanced and technical schools, and training schools for native teachers.

As the need became more and more apparent for an institution giving higher instruction in the colony itself, a technical college was opened last year in the island of Java, which, until further plans are realized, is exclusively for the training of Civil Engineers, open for students of all nationalities. And so the first step has been taken towards obtaining a University on a European scale in the Netherlands East Indies.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

By SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

THE School of Oriental Studies has now been in existence for four years, and the time has come when some account of its progress may be welcome to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*

That the School has met a public want and has had some measure of success is fully demonstrated by the statistics published in the Annual Report of the Governing Body. During the first session, 1916-1917 already 125 students were attached to the new Institution which opened its doors on January 1, 1917. The present number of those attending courses is nearer 500 than 400.

The greatest difficulty at the beginning was the want of first-class teachers, and by a somewhat strange chance it is precisely in those subjects most in demand that our staff has been weakest, whereas for some languages in comparatively small demand we have from the outset had first-class teachers. I need only mention the names of Miss Alice Werner and Mr Otto Blagden. It is true we have on our staff lists the names of most distinguished scholars, such as Dr Barnett, and Dr (now Sir Thomas) Arnold, but these men have not belonged to us primarily, and consequently have been able to give us very little of their time. During the war we were fortunate enough to secure the temporary services of Professor de la Vallée Poussin, whose name on our lists did great honour to the School, and whose inspiring instruction on the higher branches of Buddhism attracted advanced students.

From the outset Arabic proved the greatest attraction as a language, but during the first three sessions of our

existence we were without a Head of Department to control and direct this important branch of study. Two hours a week was all that Dr Arnold could spare us, and this small modicum of time could only be devoted to actual instruction. It was therefore not easy to co-ordinate the various classes in Arabic, and control the teaching, which was conducted—except for occasional assistance from outside—by native teachers, two Egyptians, one Syrian, and one from Baghdad. We were most fortunate in receiving (thanks to the Educational Department of the Egyptian Government) the services of Sheikh Abdel Rizek, who is a trained teacher of his mother tongue and a man of untiring energy and industry. Thanks to Professor Browne, of Cambridge we were able to enjoy the services of a most admirable instructor in Turkish in the person of Ali Riza Bey.

I need not enter into further details regarding the staff except to say that we have now secured the full-time services of Sir Thomas Arnold, as well as Dr Hopkyn Rees, Dr Grahame Bailey, Mr MacGovern, and M. de la Vallée Poussin.

Another great difficulty was the supply of the requisite grammars, dictionaries and text books. To our shame be it said we in England have fallen far behind our continental colleagues in the production of Oriental books—the best practical grammars in Arabic and Persian, though written by Englishmen, were published in Germany, and there was considerable difficulty in obtaining books from the Continent during the war. The same was true of India and Egypt. So greatly was the need felt for specimens of Modern Turkish, that the School went to the expense of printing a small reader in this language prepared by Ali Riza Bey. Fortunately the Board of Trade were able to import grammars from Germany for the use of the Army classes.

Accommodation at quite an early stage began to present difficulties. It must be mentioned that in the new building there are in all seventeen class rooms available for teaching.

These class-rooms hold comfortably ten to twelve students, and we do not, it may be observed, encourage the attendance of more than ten students at a time in any class

There are four other rooms available in the old building. Of these, one is required as a Women's common room, a second as a Students common room, and a third as a Staff common room. The fourth we have used as an additional class-room, and so great is the demand for separate class accommodation during the busy hours of the day, that we have been obliged to utilize a landing outside the big lecture theatre for a small class

Another difficulty has been the preparation of a fixed time-table. I do not know whether this will ever be realizable in such an institution as this but it is a goal which we should always keep before us

The difficulty lies in the fact that, with the exception of the War Office and Admiralty classes and the courses of the Bank men, each student requires a different standard, and has a different number of hours to give to his studies, or can only come at a different time to the others

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this Institution caters for an entirely different class of student to that of any other College of London. It is true we have a certain number of intercollegiate students who are taking an Oriental subject for their degree, and that the number of such will probably grow but the vast majority of our students have no connection with the University outside the School, and have their own reasons for learning a particular language in their own time. It is, therefore, quite impossible for us (as it is possible for Arts Colleges) to draw up in advance a time-table stating at what hours and on which days such and such a language, for beginners or for advanced students, will be taught

We cannot refuse to teach anyone Arabic on the ground that the ordinary course occupies four hours a week, whereas the applicant can only give two. Nor can we refuse to give an intensive course in a language to a man

who can come every day and all day, but has only a short time for study before proceeding abroad. The Colonial Office, for example, makes a regular practice of sending officials on leave for two months for an intensive course in Arabic. Such students as these practically demand a separate time-table, and it is hard to see how it could be otherwise.

If we have failed to attract the business man in large numbers, exactly the same is true of the two similar Institutions in Paris and Berlin. In Paris the courses have been part of an official curriculum for men proceeding overseas in various capacities. In Berlin the students have been men destined for the Consular and diplomatic services and students of law.

In 1892 there were seventy seven regular students in the Berlin School which was opened in 1887 and in 1897-8 there were 352. It is interesting to note that when in May 1887, the Reichstag discussed the new project, a member declared that German trade which had hitherto displayed such great activity in the East would feel no necessity for utilizing the resources offered by the new Institution. And his conjecture was fully verified. It may be mentioned that in 1899 a smaller Institution on similar lines was promised in Munich under the name of 'Orientalische Lehrkurse'. The number of students by 1900 had never exceeded forty.

The School of Oriental Studies does not aim at instruction in business, for this is provided by the School of Economics, and it is now a simple matter for any man who intends to trade in the East to take an intercollegiate course at these two institutions, which will enable him to acquire not merely the language of the country he is bound for, but also the principles of trading the local peculiarities, the customs and the laws prevailing in that country.

The only class we have had in the School attended by young business men studying a language solely for business purposes was that of the four students sent by the Bradford

Dyers Association They took an intensive course, which extended over eight months, and they devoted themselves exclusively during that period to the study of written and spoken Arabic with astonishingly good results This is an example which we can only hope will be followed by many firms in the future

Certain banks have, it is true, made arrangements for a number of their men to attend lessons in Chinese or Hindostani on two evenings a week at the conclusion of their working day In rare cases this is of some use, but, speaking generally, it may be affirmed that such men would acquire a far better knowledge of an Oriental language by devoting to it one whole month of intensive and exclusive study, than by coming to a class two evenings a week tired from their work at the bank Moreover under the latter arrangement it is very difficult to secure regularity of attendance on the part of the students, or any great enthusiasm on the part of the teachers or the taught

In both Persian and in Arabic we have had a number of regular students taking a two years' course, competing for the certificate at the end of each year These classes—four hours a week each—form the basis of our time table in these languages and each student has fixed days and hours But for the rest no time table can be made until the beginning of the new session, when it has been discovered exactly what each new student requires Every effort is, of course, made to reduce the number of separate classes in a subject, having regard always for the instruction of classes to a limited size

The best we have been able to do is to prepare, when the session has begun, a time table showing all the days and hours which have been arranged for It naturally cannot be expected to apply to the whole session, but when it has been drawn up it is a convenient document to show to new students who present themselves in the course of the session.

This same promiscuous nature of our students has also

militated against the formation of a School club or the development within our walls of the collegiate spirit. There is no means of bringing together students who spend only a few hours a week in the building, as is the case with the majority, and were there such means, we have at present no available space which could be set aside as a reading-room or place of meeting.

The number of research and post graduate students is never likely to be large, but in this department we have from the first been able to meet such demands as were made on us, and it is, of course, a side of our activities which we are most anxious to develop to the full\*. For we have two distinct aims (1) To teach men and women to speak, read, and write Oriental languages for practical purposes, and (2) to give the best training on the lines of Oriental research. There are among Englishmen far too few workers in this important field, and no doubt one of the reasons for this dearth of scholars is the poorness of the prospects which a devotion to such studies offers. The very existence of this school, with its large staff, has already made the field a more attractive one and the opportunities for study in almost all branches of Oriental lore are such as have never before been available in this country.

\* As a recognized school of London University, we are in close touch with the local University authorities, and our courses, not only in languages, but also in Oriental History, form part of the University curriculum. We have now reading in the School students for the D Litt., the M A., and the Ph D. and for the newly instituted Degree in Commerce.

There is one other feature in the activities of the School which may be mentioned—namely, the public lectures held at least once, and sometimes twice, a week throughout each term. These lectures are delivered by various members of the staff on their special subjects, and they are open to the public without ticket.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE FUTURE OF EXCAVATION IN THE  
HOLY LAND

By W J PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, MA, DSO, MC

EVEN the passing visitor must be struck by the wealth of ancient sites which are dotted visibly over the length and breadth of Palestine. It is true that on the Philistine plain the eye of experience alone will detect the centuries which have gone to raise Gaza and Jebna above the surrounding flats. The old Ashdod seems from the railway to be nothing but a massive sand dune, and of the remaining two cities with their nests of subject villages so little trace remains that to this day the maps retain their notes of interrogation.

But pass from Haifa to Semakh and you find yourself in another world. To your left, over the marshy plain of Acre, you see in fading perspective the tell-tale profile of early historic mounds. El Harbaj, longest and loftiest, dominates the nearer distance, and as you enter the narrow Kishon Pass into the great plain of Esraelon, the squat form of Tell Amre warns you like a sentinel that you are approaching a guarded realm. This is no idle fancy, for at the other extremity of the defile, Tell el-Kussis at once appears as a sort of Inner Guard. Those who have stood on its summit, above the reed choked and placid waters of the river, will not soon forget the impressive entrance to this huge fortress of the Canaanite League which defied Thothmes III, fought with Rameses II, and still retained

some strength to hurl its chariots against the forces of Israel

At the farther end of the pass which you have left Tell 'Amr stares unwinkingly across the gap, to the south-east the enormous toad like mass of Tell Keimun guards the deep wadi in its rear, next to it, on the south, another pass, the Wadi Abu Shusheh, is held tight by a Tell of the same name, beyond again Megiddo, watching the famous high road of "Aruna", beyond Taanach, and yet farther still, though far away out of sight, you will find Tell Dothan in the open passage of the Wadi Selhab. The plain itself is dotted with ancient sites—Tell Shamman, Afuleh, Tell Abu Kudeis Tell Shadud and many others. You are now in the centre of this walled enclosure, and when the railway sinks rapidly beneath Mount Gilboa into the Jordan Valley you feel no surprise at seeing the imposing mounds of Beisan and more distant Mujedda playing their part as sentries at its eastern gate.

Or if you return to the extreme south of the Judæan mountains and passing out of their deep defile ride downwards through the rolling downs which shepherd you more gently into the Negeb, you will see in front of you, just before you round the last spur which shuts Beersheba out of your sight, a great Tell seated in silence above the waterless wadi. Admirably situated as it is from a strategic point of view, for it commands the natural highways in all directions, it is only one of a chain of similar cities which will lead you, if you will, to Masada, above the Dead Sea, or pass you on along the Wadi Saba till you strike the coast road and the Mediterranean shore.

We have touched only three of the great centres of ancient civilization in Palestine. A glance at a good map will disclose even to the casual student the existence of several others. The South Shephelah group which runs from Tell Khuweilfeh to Tel el Hesi, the North Shephelah group from Tell Sandahanneh to Gezer, the Jericho group, the North Galilee group, all these can be worked out with

extraordinary ease and the expenditure of only a little patience. The Holy Land is by its nature divided into many parts, and the multiplication of its races in the Old Testament is corroborated fully by the dispersion and concentration of its early settlements.

Above and within the warring circle of the plains hidden away amidst barren hills and guarded by tortuous ravines, Jerusalem forms with Hebron the secluded nursery of a creed. To the archaeologist this area is less attractive, for with the exception of the towns themselves the country-side is barren of ancient history. Had there been more, indeed, there would have been less of civilization in the world to day, and in the lowlands there is work enough already for the spade.

To-day, after two years of recovering from the agonies of war, Palestine is preparing for another and more peaceful invasion. It would be in the last degree ungracious to decry the methods which her recent masters adopted in their dealings with archaeological explorers, no British excavator, at least, can look back on his experiences under Turkish rule without a sense of real gratitude to those whose duty it was to superintend the work, and the pages of the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund abound with repetitions of this sentiment. On the other hand, no one who has suffered from the Ottoman law's delays (or from delays less intimately associated with that or any other law) will feel less than glad that the country is now under a British administration. Nor will it be heard without a feeling of relief that the remains of the Palestine Museum, once admirably arranged by Dr Bliss, but since his departure ransacked, neglected, and forgotten, have been rescued from oblivion and are in process of re registration and arrangement. Scanty as these remnants are, they can still claim to be a representative exhibition of the earliest ceramic types of Palestine, and as such no student can afford to overlook them. As excavation brings further treasures to light, this museum will steadily

increase in value, and, thanks to the new Antiquities Ordinance, should become a real centre for archaeological research

As regards the work of excavation itself, there are already many signs of a renewed vitality. The Palestine Exploration Fund has inaugurated the new era by attacking the most important and difficult of all Palestinian sites, Ascalon. The results of a preliminary "season's" work have been most encouraging. A Græco-Roman temple, with massive marble columns and capitals, has been partially laid bare, and special interest has been aroused by the discovery of an ancient well which is alluded to by writers of the Byzantine epoch, and may even go back to the days of the old Fish-goddess Derceto.

Stratographical sections in the "Acropolis" mound have revealed the presence of a culture contemporaneous with the eighteenth or nineteenth Egyptian Dynasties, and it is not too much to hope that succeeding "seasons" will settle many problems with regard to the period of the Amarna letters and the confused struggles which saw the entrance of the Philistines.

America has already put in her claims for two of the most important sites in Galilee—Beisan and Tell Mutesellim. The British School of Archaeology has provisionally secured Tell 'Amr (already alluded to) as a subject for preliminary soundings.

The Jewish Archæological Society has conducted soundings near Tiberias, and if provided with sufficient funds will proceed to a thorough excavation of the area south of that city. Already traces of old synagogues, mosaics, and other finds, attest the importance of this site for Jewish students.

But when all this is said, one can only glance with despair round the innumerable opportunities that remain. In the north, Tell Keimun (Jokneam of Carmel) attests both by its size and position its ancient importance. It is untouched. The old Ashdod is unencumbered by build-

ings (though in truth it is very much encumbered with hedges of prickly pear) no one has attempted to dig it Close to Tell El Hesi, a fourth part only of which has been excavated, stands Tell El Nejileh, a mound of great size, and with a past in no way inferior to that of its neighbour. Neither this nor the more easily accessible Tel-es-Saba has been attacked except in the latter case at least, by Turkish entrenchments. These are only a few examples of a task which has hardly been begun and any of them may now be secured by a scientific body without difficulty or delay.

A few words on the newly created Department of Antiquities must bring this brief survey to a close.

One of the first acts of the new High Commissioner was to request Professor J. Garstang, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem to organize a service of Antiquities for Palestine. This work has now been completed, and the 'Antiquities Ordinance of 1920' was published in the *Official Gazette* of October 15. The most interesting feature of the new Department has been the appointment of an Archaeological Advisory Board, composed of representatives of British, American, French, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem interests.

The Director consults the Board with reference to

- (a) All applications for permits to excavate
- (b) The regulation of excavations in the city and district of Jerusalem
- (c) The conservation of historical buildings.
- (d) International questions, and so forth

Every effort is being made to encourage and facilitate research and to secure the harmonious co-operation of all whose interests lie in the past and future of the Holy Land.

In addition to this and its other more 'passive' work of organization and supervision, the Department is undertaking, through its Inspectorate, the registration of all historical sites in Palestine. This is a work which cannot be completed in a day, but the survey which Conder and

Kitchener so admirably carried out serves as a basis for the new investigators, and the use of a card-index for the codification of their results will facilitate their labours and make these more accessible to the student.

In all respects, then—and it may be said without reserve—the archæological future of Palestine is a bright one. The work before us is immense, but the opportunity is proportionately great. Money only is lacking and when the conditions which at present rule us relax their hold, we may hope to see the veil withdrawn from that mysterious past which has ever tantalized and fascinated the world.

## JAPANESE POEM

### 2 EVENING

BY RINJIRO TAKAYAMA (D 1902)

THE sun is setting

From a distant temple I hear the note of a tolling bell  
 The deep blue shadow of night is gathering from afar  
 My heart is heavy, I know not wherefore  
 I betake myself to my lofty balcony,  
 And leaning on the parapet, I heave a long sigh  
 Formless thoughts surge up like clouds

Methinks, Death is like a cold night  
 And Life is like a close sultry day  
 Once when I was ill, and, as it seemed, about to die,  
 I felt my heart beat more easily  
 Look, and enjoy the beauties of mountain and river, so they say  
 But what leisure had I to drink deep of the loveliness of nature,  
 Shackled, as I was, by the sorrow of human life,  
 And with my heart sore wounded?

Ah, my thoughts are so long, and my pen is so short.  
 I would fain embrace these thoughts of mine, and with them fall  
 asleep

My past is hard to tell about and hard to think upon,  
 And now it is entering into a dream, and no more certitude remains  
 But do not wonder at me, my friends,  
 For is not everything beautiful in Life  
 Merely a dream?

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES  
A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

(*Continued from ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1921*)

By WARREN R DAWSON

II

THE mere delineation and description of the scenes and texts of a tomb would be little understood by the general reader without a great deal of introductory matter, and the author has hit upon the happy expedient of working all this matter into the description of a single tomb in such a way as to make it unnecessary to repeat it in the succeeding volumes. It must be borne in mind that every detail in a tomb had a deep significance mythologically, and to gather a comprehensive idea of the underlying motives would require a very wide and discursive hunt among the many publications in which they are dealt with piecemeal, and very variously interpreted. This hunt Dr Gardiner has made on behalf of his readers, and to the information so gained, which he freely acknowledges in the footnotes, he has added the latest discoveries and seasoned the whole with his own wide knowledge and experience. Hence we have for the first time a complete and handy exposition of the whole system of Egyptian funereal archaeology made all the more intelligible by the consecutive study of a specific tomb. By this means we have a standard tomb set up, and in other tombs we have merely to note the variation from type without the necessity of working out each subject again in detail.

Dr Gardiner personally conducts us through the chambers of Amenemhēt's tomb, explaining point by point every detail which meets the eye, sometimes taking us outside to neighbouring tombs to make comparisons, and sometimes we pause whilst he expounds fully the origin and meaning

of a religious formula or a sacramental rite.\* Dr Gardiner has succeeded in a difficult task—that is to say, he has produced a book equally acceptable to the amateur and the specialist, the information for the former is not too "popular" to shock the latter, nor *vice versa*. Indeed, he has done for Egyptology exactly what the late Mr Richard Lydekker did for zoology in the books which brought him world wide fame. The illustrations are beautifully and truthfully executed and well reproduced, whether in colour, line, or photograph.

And now we have to welcome the second memoir in the series—that on the tomb of Antefoker †. This tomb belongs to an earlier period of history than that of Amen-em-het, and displays the funerary cult in an earlier stage of development. Mr Davies has produced a volume of no less interest than its predecessor and has given us a succinct and clear account of the tomb, but we cannot help regretting that in describing the various features of the tomb there is no series of references to the Introductory Memoir, wherein each point was discussed with the fullest detail. Such references would have made the volume more useful to students and to those who, not being professed students are anxious to learn all they can of the subject and who have a full reference book with bibliographical notes so easily at their disposal were it but appropriately indicated to them.

The tomb of Antefoker being one of the oldest in the necropolis was often taken as the model for the tombs constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and was moreover, in Pharaonic times one of the show places of Thebes, and many of its ancient visitors have scribbled notes in hieratic writing on the walls recording their ex-

\* See, for example, the admirable excursus on the dedication formula and the rite of "Bringing the Foot, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

† The Theban Tombs Series Second Memoir—"The Tomb of Antefoker and his Wife Senet" By N. de Garis Davies, M.A., with a chapter by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT., etc. London George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1920. Price 2 gs. net.

pressions of admiration. We are always righteously indignant with those who deface ancient monuments by writing upon them, but the hallow of antiquity has sanctioned these scrawls in Antefoker's tomb, and we welcome the archaeological data which they give us. Dr Gardiner, in a special chapter, has edited and translated these *graffiti*.

Reference was made earlier in this paper to the plundering of the tombs in antiquity by the Egyptians themselves. The custom of burying jewellery and valuables with the dead has from the earliest times made the tombs the objects of greatest temptation to thieves. Scarcely a tomb has preserved its contents to us intact, but when we do rarely find one there is little wonder that their contents were such a source of transgression. We know from the famous Abbott Papyrus that a royal commission was instituted to protect the tombs of the kings which were no more immune than those of commoners, and that legal proceedings were instituted against the robbers. A number of documents have come down to us relating to these trials and one of the most important although long known, has only just been made accessible to students. The Liverpool Museum contains two hieratic papyri, known as "Mayer A and B," which form the sequel to the Abbott and other known documents, and these are now published, edited and translated by Professor T. E. Peet\*. A series of twenty-seven plates reproduces the hieratic text, and opposite each plate is a transcription into hieroglyphic characters.

The Mayer papyri throw much light not only on their own particular subject-matter, but on ancient legal procedure in general. In the Museum of Turin a judicial papyrus describes the trial of certain persons arrested on a charge of high treason, and we find that the suspects were dealt with in the same summary fashion in the Mayer papyri. It would seem, moreover, that the prisoner was put on oath

\* "The Mayer Papyri A and B" By T. Eric Peet, M.A. With 27 plates. London. Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society 1920. Price 50s net.

not to speak falsehood, and received a preliminary bastinado and a beating on the soles of the feet as an earnest of pleasures to come. This appears to have been the practice in all cases, and if found innocent no compensation was made to the sufferer.

Professor Peet has made a model study of his subject. His translations are sound and cautious, and form an important contribution to the study of ancient law and literature.

## EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT

### THE LITERATURE OF THE COPTIC PERIOD

By WARREN R. DAWSON

WITH the passing of Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh, ancient Egypt, in its most characteristic sense, came to an end. In the last three centuries before the Christian era the country passed successively under Persian, Greek, and Roman dominion. Thus in three centuries a strong obstruction of alien forces and ideas suddenly spread over the face of a country whose religious and political traditions had remained, in all essentials, unbroken since their inception more than three thousand years earlier. This sudden cleavage with old ideas, imposed by peoples of quite different mentality from the Egyptians, naturally paved the way for the acceptance of Christianity, and as the foreign influence increased so the hold of the old religion weakened. Greek elements entered into the old national gods, and the religion of Ptolemaic times, although outwardly the same as ever, was in reality undergoing a great change. It was during this period of atrophy that the descriptions of Herodotus and other classical historians were drawn up, and which gave us quite an erroneous impression of the Egyptians, which has only been removed during the last century by the recovery of the lost language of the hieroglyphs—a discovery which has put us in touch with first hand information from the contemporary native documents.

When at length the inhabitants of the Nile Valley forsook the religion of their forefathers and embraced the new Christian faith, we know them no more as Egyptians, but as Copts. The history of Christianity as the national religion in Egypt is of short duration, some two and a half centuries only from the edict of Theodosius in A.D. 381 to the Mahomedan conquest in 640, although it survived amongst part of the population to this day. The literature of this period which has come down to us is very largely religious, purely secular compositions being comparatively rare. The language in which they are written—Coptic—is the last stage of derivation from the ancient language of the hieroglyphs, but written in Greek characters (with a few signs derived from Egyptian demotic to express sounds unknown in Greek) and containing a large admixture of Greek words. The old religion did not perish without a struggle and as we shall see, many of the ancient beliefs survived even in Christian literature.

The quantity of Coptic literature now published and available to students is very large, and it is manifestly impossible, within the limits of a single essay, to give even the haziest impression of it as a whole, but we shall take the five volumes of Coptic Texts published by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the editorship of Sir Ernest Budge, between 1910 and 1915, as representing a typical collection of works, and glance briefly at their contents. The following are the books referred to all of which are edited from texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt.

- 1 "Coptic Homilies" 1910
- 2 "Coptic Biblical Texts" 1912
- 3 "Coptic Apocrypha" 1913
- 4 "Coptic Martyrdoms." 1914
- 5 "Miscellaneous Coptic Texts" 1915

All the editions are drawn up in the same form. They contain first an account of the manuscripts from which the translation is made, a summary analysis of the contents, the Coptic text transcribed into type, an English translation,

and finally collotype facsimiles of the original texts, in some cases complete, in others giving selected sheets

It may be mentioned that monasticism flourished in Egypt amongst the Christian population, and most of the extant literature is the work of monks, anchorites or solitary ascetics. Great importance was attached throughout to the sanctity of the lives of the Fathers and Holy Men whose acts and sayings form the subject-matter of many compositions and are intended as didactic works based upon precept. Herein, perhaps, lies the great difference in mentality between the ancient Egyptians and their successors, for although ancient moral works are known, and generally also the names of the persons to whom they are attributed,\* they contain little or nothing to glorify these names and to hold them up as models for posterity. The ancient Pharaohs in their inscriptions always regarded themselves as perfect and as paragons of virtue far exceeding all their predecessors, and their subjects, in the biographical inscriptions in their tombs, followed the royal example. Consequently every man regarding himself as perfect had no occasion to quote the example of others. The Copts on the other hand, show more humility and delighted to collect and preserve the acts and sayings of their Holy Men.

The first volume is devoted to homilies, and these homilies are moreover based upon quite different ideas from those which appear in the moral precepts in the ancient Egyptians. The writings of the latter show us that they were capable of very lofty ideals, but there is no evidence that these were ever embraced into the religious system, or that there was anything more than temporal prosperity to be gained from their practice. There is certainly no direct threat of displeasure by the gods and retribution at their hands after

\* Instances are "The Instruction of Ptah hopet", "The Instruction of King Amenemes to his Son", "The Maxims of Ani", "Petersburg Papyrus", and numerous little works containing advice and warning to young scribes.

death for those who neglected the moral code, and the idea of repentance was entirely absent from the ancient theology. The ancient Egyptian could procure his own welfare in the after life by providing himself with the necessary magical apparatus—papyri, amulets, words of power, offerings, etc. The Coptic homilies teach that the Christian God is not to be "squared" in this way, and that the only means of securing happiness in the hereafter is by an upright and pious life on earth and by humility, continence, repentance, fasting, and prayer. The belief in demons and evil spirits is very pronounced and many are the injunctions to seek out and overthrow their power. It is in this belief in demons, and in the terrors of the hell to which the wicked will be consigned, that the survival of the old ideas most manifests itself. In the tombs of the kings at Thebes are depicted the mysterious regions into which the Sun God (and the dead) passed during the twelve hours of the night. Each hour had an appointed region with a population of serpents and other monsters, lakes of fire, and other terrors. The attendants of the Sun God piloted their chief and his faithful followers safely through these regions of terror and finally brought them safe and sound to the beginning of a new day.\*

The Coptic writers borrowed freely from these images, and in one instance, at least, the parallels are easy to recognize ("The Homily on Repentance," by Apa John, I., pp. 147-191). Thus in the description of the punishment of the wicked and in frequent references throughout the homily to the 'burning fire of Gehenna' we see the lake of fire depicted on the sarcophagus of Sety I. in the Soane Museum. The worm "which dieth not" is the echo of the great serpent Apophis, which figures continually on the same monument, and which is the subject of a collection of

\* The principal books in which these ideas are described and depicted are the Book of Him who is in the 'etherworld' (Am Duat), and the "Book of Gates." For a general summary see Maspero, "Les Hypogées royaux de Thebes."

exorcisms known as "The Book of Overthrowing Apophis," preserved in a papyrus in the British Museum\* The "outer darkness" has its counterpart in the black region of desolation referred to in the Egyptian texts, *e.g.* in the "Book of the Dead,"† and traces even of the ancient Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties are to be detected in the pious Archbishop's discourse, which shows how deeply rooted these primæval concepts must have been.

Quotations from the Scriptures abound in these homilies, and ethical ideas and abstract notions quite unknown to the ancients find a definite expression.

A few excerpts will give an idea of the form in which these discourses are cast.

"It was the first transgression, that is to say disobedience, which cast man forth from Paradise. It hath changed this world, and hath made to exist things which ought not to exist, and the things which ought indeed to exist it hath set a restraint upon. It hath made God, who is without anger to be wroth and hath turned the Father from gladness to grief.‡

"If thou hast committed sin, make haste, stand up on thy feet, be sorry, and let thy heart eat thee [in remorse] and pour out thy tears. For did not the sinful woman act in this wise? And did she not pour out her tears and lay hold on repentance?§

'And now, O man, come and embark in the ship of salvation which is the faith of the Church. It hath two steering oars wherewith it is guided, and these are the Testaments, whereon if thou shalt meditate they will bring thee unto a good place for tying up thy boat. It hath a mast, which is the Cross of the Lord, and a rudder, these are thy hands which are stretched out in prayer to God. It

\* Papyrus Bremner Rhind No. 10,188.

† Renouf, "Book of the Dead," p. 356.

‡ "Homily of Apa Basil," I, 252.

§ "Discourse of Apa Eusebius," I, 278.

hath a sail which beareth it onwards, that is the power of God which directeth thee into every good course. It hath a guiding pole which is the Bishop in the Church. It hath a helmsman to steer it which is Jesus, who directeth the course of the universe. The sailors on board are the clergy who are in the Church and who minister. There is a cargo borne upon it, and these are the Christian peoples. Thou shalt arrive in port in a haven which is fair that is to say the harbour of Jesus which is the heavenly Jerusalem.\*

This last quotation is reminiscent again of an ancient Egyptian concept of a spiritual boat every one of whose parts was identified and given a religious significance †

One of the most interesting homilies in the whole collection is that of Ap<sup>t</sup> Athanasius, Archbishop of Rakote concerning the soul and body †. Syriac versions of the same text are known which suggest that it was a work of great popularity, not only to Egyptian monks, but to those of the Syrian brotherhoods. It describes the passage of the soul after it leaves the body at the moment of death and passes into the region of Amente, the very name of which is well as many of its attributes are borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. Similar survivals of ancient beliefs are discernible in the Apocalypse of Paul (V p 1043 ff.)

Passing now to the Biblical Texts, these require no comment in this place, as their interest is mainly philological. The selection published by the British Museum contains the Books of Deuteronomy, Jonah and the Acts of the Apostles. In the Introduction the editor discusses the relation between the Coptic manuscripts and the Greek originals (II, xvii ff., etc.) Reference may be made to the fine complete Psalter, also in the British Museum, which was found with the "Book of Homilies" described above, and was separately published some years ago §

\* 'Discourse of St Athanasius' I 233

† Renouf "Book of the Dead, chap xcix p 167 † I, 257 ff

§ Budge 'The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter' London, 1898

With the Apocrypha we come once more to a body of literature which is more distinctively Coptic. Six books are published and a valuable introductory chapter on Egyptian mythology in Coptic writings (III, lx: ff) a topic to which frequent reference has already been made. One of the most striking and important apocryphal texts is the 'Book of the Resurrection,' by Bartholomew the Apostle. The beginning of the manuscript is wanting, but it evidently contained an account of the Crucifixion. At the point where the narrative begins the Body has been laid in the tomb. Hereupon Death, who is personified, goes into Amente and enquires for the Soul of Christ. He caused a search to be made and eventually located the tomb and taking counsel with his sons devised a means of entrance by transformation into serpent form. Here the Body was found lying wrapped in a napkin. Death was greatly troubled by the disturbances which had shaken the world at the moment of Christ's death for Amente rocked the pillars trembled and a violent commotion raged in the air. In Hell itself the fires were extinguished, the gates broken down and the gate keepers scattered.\* Death finally approached the Body of Christ which stirred itself, removed the napkin and derided him. Death thereupon was panic-stricken and fled, but recovered his courage and visited the tomb again only to be derided as before. Death, however, protested his omnipotence and proceeded to threaten Christ and in the midst of his discourse Christ arose and ascended into heaven with a glorious company. Christ then went down into Amente and broke down the doors overturned the tires and put them out and wrought complete desolation there. He bound the ministers of Satan in fetters of iron, redeemed Adam and delivered man. In Amente Christ encountered Judas Iscariot and it would appear that He did not forgive him for a long passage is devoted to the terrors to which Judas was

\* A description of the Gates and Gatekeepers of the ancient Egyptian netherworld is given in the Book of the Dead, chapters cxliv cxlvii.

subjected after death, and how he finally passed into outer darkness and everlasting oblivion

Death still maintained his watch over Christ, and on the third day found Him risen. Death repaired to Amenta and saw the wreckage and desolation there, and heard the wailing and distress of its denizens whilst above the angels were singing in jubilation.

The text then proceeds to the description of the visitors to the tomb on the morning of the Resurrection to the new life of Christ in heaven and to the acts of the Apostles after the Resurrection. In the portion analyzed above it will be seen that there is much in conformity with the traditions of the four Synoptic Gospels and a good deal of additional matter which is purely Egyptian in character and strongly tinged with reminiscences of the old paganism.

The Apocryphon the 'Instructions of Pachomius' is an interesting composition and contains admonitions to a monk who had been guilty of anger and harsh treatment to a brother. Its style much resembles that of the homilies, and is similar to the exhortations in the "Paradise of the Fathers" of Palladius.\*

Before passing on to the martyrdoms one more point must be mentioned which bears on the ancient religion. In the 'Encomium of Saint John' (III, 347) mention is made of a boat of gold given by Christ to the saint in order to ferry him across a river of fire. This is evidently a survival of the magic ferry boat with its boatman 'Turn-face' which figures in the Pyramid Texts and in the "Book of the Dead". St John in the Coptic legend assumes the character of "Turnface" and ferries the faithful across the stream.

As we have already mentioned the lives of saints and holy men occupy an important position in Coptic literature and the fourth volume of texts deals with ten manuscripts.

\* This is a Syriac text and has been published with an English translation by Budge.

containing accounts of the lives and martyrdoms of various saints

The life and martyrdom of Victor the General (IV, 253 *ff.*) is an important document historically, as it gives us an abundance of details of the army of Imperial Rome, wherein the saint held the rank of General under Diocletian. The Emperor's devotion to pagan gods and his insistence that Victor should sacrifice to them caused the General to surrender his military office and hurl his badge of office in the Emperor's face. A long persecution ensued, and, in spite of every kind of torture and oppression, Victor denied the false gods and refused to render them obeisance. Finally he was put to a cruel death, as were many other Christians under the iron rule of Diocletian.

Another most interesting text is the life and martyrdom of Theodore the Anatolian (V, 577 *ff.*), which contains much information on Antioch, a eulogy of which occupies the opening paragraphs of the manuscript. Theodore likewise suffered martyrdom at the hands of Diocletian, who crucified him with 153 nails.

The martyrdoms were generally followed by the performance of miracles and many sick and afflicted persons were cured. A series of eight miracles is related as following on the martyrdom of Mercurius (V, 828 *ff.*) In the encomium on St Victor by Celestinus (V, 299 *ff.*) many of the miracles wrought by the virtue of the saint are described, and many other instances occurring in the texts contained in the British Museum collection might be quoted.

Anchorites and solitary ascetics who lived in caves in the deserts and in other lonely places were apparently very numerous, and we have many accounts of their lives, both in Coptic and Syriac texts. A typical example may be instanced in Apa Onnophrios (IV, 455 *ff.*) He wore no clothes\* except a garland of leaves and his hair, which

\* See the similar instances in Palladius (ed. Budge, vol. 1, chap. xvi etc., pp. 234 *ff.*)

never being cut, covered him like a garment. He had begun his religious life in a monastery in Upper Egypt, but had left it early, and lived alone in a cave for over sixty years. He suffered great privations, from cold by night and heat by day, and from hunger and thirst. His only food was dates, of which a neighbouring tree annually produced twelve bunches one for each month. The self-imposed hardships on Onnophrios are not so drastic as in some other cases. Macarius the Alexandrian, for instance, an account of whom is given by Palladius added to the daily discomforts of his life by many feats of endurance. On one occasion he determined to vanquish sleep, and for twenty days and nights he sat in the open with no shelter from sun by day or cold by night. As a penance for killing a gnat which bit him he went to Scete and sat in the desert naked for six months where the gnats were as large as wasps. He was so swelled and disfigured by their bites that he was afterwards only recognized by his voice.\*

In the above paragraphs an attempt has been made by indicating a few out of very many interesting topics with which the Coptic texts deal. It is hoped that an interest in the subject may be aroused in those who have had no opportunity or desire to acquaint themselves with the great body of legends, histories, liturgical and sacred books which, thanks to the climate of Egypt, have reached us in almost perfect condition. The British Museum publications contain English translations for those who are not conversant with the Coptic language, whilst the student is provided with the text, plates of facsimiles, and indices. It is much to be hoped that the British Museum may continue to make its manuscript treasures available in this handy form.



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

**CONTENTS** *The East India Association—The National Indian Association—The Royal Colonial Institute—The Persia Society—The China Society—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden—Oriental Congress at Baltimore U S A—Royal Asiatic Society—Indian Gymkhana Club—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 245 295  
The following lectures have been arranged for the next two months For April ' Early Indian Polity in Kashmir, by E Molony, Esq, C.B.E., I.C.S for May, " Indians in British East Africa, by H S L Polak, Esq

The Rt Hon Lord Pentland, I.C., C.S.I. C.C.I.E (late Governor of Madras), and Lady Pentland entertained the members of the East India Association and the Royal Asiatic Society on February 24 to meet the Earl and Countess of Reading The Viceroy Designate arrived at about five o'clock with Countess Reading and conversed freely with the guests

On March 2 the Earl and Countess of Reading were entertained at the National Indian Association The Viceroy Designate delivered a brief speech in which he emphasized the paramount importance of goodwill in Indian affairs Lord Lamington, C.M.C. C.C.I.E laid stress on the differences between the comparatively prosperous state of India and the poverty and uncertainty of Persia

The dinner given in honour of the Earl of Reading by the Royal Colonial Institute on March 4 was in many respects a memorable occasion As Sir Godfrey Lauden the Chairman of Council, pointed out in his speech, the event served to illustrate that India was on the road to take her place among the Dominions and the Institute was taking a growing interest in Indian affairs, as shown by the recent formation of an Indian Committee to which several Princes of the Native States had given their names But above all it gave a welcome opportunity to the Fellows and Associates of the Institute, drawn from all parts of the Empire to honour the new 'Viceroy and Governor General Designate' The Right Hon E S Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State for India, took the Chair, and in proposing the toast of 'Our Guest' paid a great tribute to the work done by Lord Chelmsford in connection with the Reform Scheme It had, indeed, been the present Viceroy's inception, and the seal had been set upon it by the visit of the Duke of Connaught How wonderful and what an intangible thing was the spirit of the British Empire ! Of how many

racial parts it was composed, and yet how all these parts could successfully withstand the shocks of militaristic materialism from without and economic unrest from within Proceeding, he recalled how at the beginning of the war he had spent anxious hours with Earl Reading at the Treasury stabilizing the structure of the Empire's credit Now his task was to lead a proud people throbbing with national pride along the only well ordered route, that of partnership within the British Empire

At the dinner the tables were so placed that all the 300 present were able to obtain a good view of Earl Reading when he rose to respond He gives the impression of one who never pre-judges any case or situation In his speech he described himself as a 'student of Indian affairs' We venture to think that it is in this spirit and with an open mind that he will enter upon his duties He will land at Bombay with no brief in his pocket, he has occupied the exalted position of Lord Chief Justice of England he will hear both sides and we can already imagine him 'reserving judgment until to-morrow when he will give a verdict which will be final and which should command respect

Nor are his own views as to his mission in India at variance with the impression which he created that evening in his audience For he emphasized again that it was on account of the office which he now held in England that the choice had fallen upon him And indeed he exemplifies in that office the great British traditions of justice and fair play

There was a meeting of the Persia Society on February 15 at 74 Grosvenor Street A paper was read by Captain J B L Noel on Mazandaran and the Caspian Coast which was illustrated by an excellent series of slides which gave a very good idea of that little known part of the country Lord Lamington (C M G C I E) was in the Chair

The proceedings of the Persia Society are now re-read in the new *Persia Magazine*, the first issue of which with a foreword by Lord Lamington, was published on March 1 It contains a Literary Supplement contributed by Sir Thomas Arnott The price is 2s 6d per issue quarterly

The China Society met at the School of Oriental Studies on March 3 when a very interesting lecture was delivered by A Neville J Whyman on the Psychology of the Chinese Coolie The reader of the paper had served with the Chinese Labour Corps in France and owing to the fact that he has a good knowledge of the language he was able to make a close study of his men Dr Hopkins Professor of Chinese at London University, was in the Chair and at the conclusion of the lecture questions were asked by Sir Montague Beauchamp

The American Oriental Society will hold its Annual Meeting on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week March 29, 30 and 31, in Baltimore, Md The Directors of this Society have invited the Asiatic Societies of France Great Britain and Italy to participate in the meeting

at Baltimore through such of their members as may be able to attend. If this invitation shall be accepted, arrangements will be made to give one or more of the sessions the character of a joint meeting of the four Federated Societies.

Mr D A Lane (late South Persia Rifles) read a paper on March 8 to the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nomad Tribes of South West Persia." The lecturer, who possesses a good knowledge of the local dialects, had made himself indispensable, as Sir Percy Sykes pointed out in the course of the proceedings, in organizing the transport over large distances in Persia. It was explained that his position required some diplomacy, as the ammunition boxes were rather heavier than those to which the muleteers were generally accustomed! Mr Lane illustrated his lecture with many interesting maps and photographs showing the summer and winter camps. He pointed out that the crops of these nomad tribes were entirely dependent on the rain, and that consequently whenever these failed, they had resource to raids on other tribes. Accordingly a proper system of irrigation would be of priceless benefit in those regions. Professor D S Margoliouth was in the Chair.

The next lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society will be on April 12 when Mr R Levy, of Jesus College, Oxford, will read a paper on the following subject 'Bagdad to Teheran a New Variation of an Old Theme'. On June 14 Mr R Grant Brown, Hon Treasurer of the Society, will deliver a lantern lecture on 'Burma and its People'.

We have received from Mr T B W Ramsay M.A., LL.B., Hon Secretary, the Report for 1920 of the Indian Gymkhana Club. The officers for 1921 are as follows: President Right Hon. Lord Hawke. Vice Presidents H H Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Bahadur, GCSI, CIE, Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, Major General H H Sir Ganga Singh, Bahadur, GCSI, CIE, GCVO, CBE KCB, ADC. Maharaja of Bikaner H H Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup, Bahadur, KCSI, Maharaja of Cooch Behar Right Hon. Lord Sinha I C KCSI KC Sir Dorabji J Tata, JI, Sir James Walker CIE. Committee Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, GCSI, CIE, KCMB (Chairman), R R Byahatti, Raj Rana Fatehsinh of Lumbdi, S K Ghosh, R F S Hardie F E Lacey (M.C.C.), Austin Low, CIE, JP, Colonel K M Mistri, CBE, K S Rajendrasinhji, C Ramaswami, T B W Ramsay, M.A., LL.B. B V N Rao, M Saravanamuttu, N C Sen, OBE. Cricket Captain Colonel K M Mistri, CBE. Cricket Secretary M Saravanamuttu. Tennis Secretary B V N Rao. Bankers Messrs Grindlay and Co. Hon Treasurer Austin Low, CIE, JP. Hon Secretary T B W Ramsay, M.A., LL.B., 10, King's Bench Walk Temple, London, E.C. 4.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W, on February 17, when Mr Martin S Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., gave a most interesting lecture on "Saracenic Architecture and the Crusaders." Mr Briggs laid emphasis on the beauty of Arab building, in which, he

said, the whole character of the builders seem to be expressed. He spoke of the pointed arch, the use of coloured marbles for exterior decoration and so on, which were introduced into Europe about the time of the Crusades, and which give evidence of the amount the Crusaders had learnt from the buildings they had seen and the new ideas they had brought home with them, and he showed to that in the Arab architecture of the same date there were distinct traces of Western influences and ideas. He made his argument clearer by means of lantern slides illustrating the points he wished to make.

A discussion followed the lecture and an interesting speech by Major the Hon W Ormsby Gore. The chairman (Sir Francis Younghusband), when he closed the meeting expressed the great pleasure and interest with which he and all those present had listened to the lectures.

On March 1, Miss Emily J. Robinson delivered a lecture to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on Armenia and the Civilized World.

On February 9 a paper was read before the Japan Society at 20, Hanover Square by R. A. J. Ponsonby Fane. The subject was 'Misasagi the Imperial Mansaka of Japan.'

Among the public lectures arranged for the School of Oriental Studies was one by Dr Hopkyn Kees on 'Chinese Fiction.' This was read on March 10. "The Portuguese in India" was the title of the lecture given by the Director on March 2.

#### A CONGRRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT LI YIDIN

ON May 8 of last year some professors of Oriental languages at the University of Leyden took the initiative in founding a society of Dutch Orientalists, called Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland. On January 4 and 5 the 'Genootschap' held its first meeting at Leyden, which was attended by some eighty members from different parts of the country. In his opening address the chairman Professor Snouck Hurgronje gave an interesting account of the gradual development of Oriental studies in the Netherlands since the seventeenth century of which the University of Leyden had always been the centre. The constantly growing interest in Oriental studies fully justified the foundation of a society like the present. He could state that the undertaking had proved a success as the society had been joined by over 180 members including a few distinguished men of British nationality. He emphasized that, although the society was meant in the first place to unite Dutch Orientalists, foreign scholars too would be warmly welcomed as members, and he expressed the hope that at the next meeting a large number of Orientalists from various countries would take part in the proceedings.

A remarkable feature of the Congress was the prominence given to Oriental art. A fascinating lecture by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., on "The Origin and Development of Persian Painting," was greatly appreciated.

by the audience. In the course of an able paper on the ornament in Hindu-Javanese architecture, Lieutenant Colonel T. van Erp, R.E., vindicated the essentially Indian character of the classical art of Java. The four lectures on Oriental art, which occupied the first day, were well illustrated by means of slides.

On the second day the Congress split into four sections (1) Semitic (including Egyptology) (2) Hellenistic (including Byzantine studies), (3) Aryan, and (4) the Far East. In each of these sections some four or five papers were read, presenting a great variety of subjects. In the Aryan section Professor Caland gave a new interpretation and etymology of Avestan *spenta*. Professor Faddegon discussed the composition of Bādarāyana's *Vedānta sutra* and Mr H. Dunlop produced a document on the religion of the Parsees which a servant of the Dutch East India Company had drawn up anonymously at Surat about the year 1625.

In connection with the Congress there was an exhibition of Oriental manuscripts in the University Library. These treasures including several splendid specimens of Oriental calligraphy, were mostly collected in the seveneenth century by Levinus Warner, a Dutch scholar, who had been deputed to the East in order to study Oriental languages, and who for many years served his country as a diplomatist at Constantinople.

The Congress concluded with an evening entertainment singularly suited to the occasion. It consisted of a *wayang*, or shadow show as practised in Java. A young Javanese nobleman, Raden Mas Ario Sooryaputro acted as *dalang*, while a number of Javanese students had volunteered to form the band or *gamelan* which is an indispensable adjunct to any *wayang* performance. The puppets, musical instruments, and other requisites were borrowed from the State Museum of Lithography at Leyden.

An account of the proceedings of the Leyden Congress will shortly be published.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

## INDIA

INDIAN WOMEN By Otto Rothfeld of the Indian Civil Service  
(*Simpkin Marshall*)

(*Reviewed by* LADY BOSE)

IT has been said by a European critic of Oriental life that the Oriental world is the man's world the woman carefully secludes herself behind the veil. When contrasted with the rather obtrusive selfassertiveness of modern womanhood in Europe this remark understood rightly is justifiable although in spite of this much decried seclusion the Eastern woman different as she is by character temperament and environment, wields as much power and influence as her more forward Western sister. The seclusion and aloofness of the Indian woman is much exaggerated. It is more like the seclusion of classic Athens and is never except among particular sects and races who follow the Muhammadan or Rajput tradition so rigid and jealous as it is often represented to be. At the same time it cannot be denied that the Indian woman is retiring by nature and habit and values her seclusion for the pleasurable sense of dignity which it naturally causes. In a country where, as a rule, few women of the better classes appear in public and beauty is seldom displayed the constant sight of women in street or office in the tubes trams and buses is indeed a rarity, except in the Bombay Presidency. She attains half her charm and power because she is occasionally seen and seldom met. Rightly or wrongly she has always remained a mystery an elusive figure—one of those rarest flowers which shrink away at the first vulgar touch of public curiosity. Justice, therefore, has seldom been done to the Indian woman in most studies of Indian life. She has been either neglected or studied from a distance more often she has not been adequately understood or sympathetically treated. To the Western imagination fed upon fantastic tales of mystery and passion, misnamed Oriental, the Indian woman appears either in hazy outlines draped with the imagery of fiction and the fantasies of invention, or as a symbol of Oriental opulence, a creature of incredible luxury, a freak of tropic passion and jewelled magnificence. The true, the tender the retiring, or the loving woman is seldom seen and never known. Any contribution therefore, to a sensible study of the Indian womanhood

is always welcome, especially when it is written with so much charm, sympathy, and insight, as the volume before us

Mr Otto Rothfeld, of the Indian Civil Service, has indeed made a notable contribution to a proper and sympathetic understanding of the divergent and many-coloured Indian races whose womanhood he depicts with a delightful pen. The book is as well written as the text and the cover are neatly and tastefully printed, and the value of the work is greatly enhanced by nearly fifty coloured illustrations of women of different provinces drawn by an Indian artist. The work portrays the Indian woman as she is to-day, not indeed shorn of all her natural romantic glamour, nor of the halo of glorious past traditions and charming present associations, but devoid of all taint of sentimentalism and loose thinking which has characterized many a recent writer on the subject. From the scholarly side the position of women in ancient India has been very ably studied by many an expert, and recently by J. Meyer in his "Das Weib im altindischen Epos", and there is no doubt that a knowledge of past history is valuable for the better understanding of the present. But Western idealists in their study of the present conditions are generally apt to take some of the poetic ideals in Indian literature at their face value. On the other hand there is a tendency towards an impressionist or surface-study of the question without any attempt to realize the woman in all her cultural surroundings, associations, and traditions which form more than half of her life. Although it is a study from the outside, the work under review is comparatively free from these dangers. It has no scholarly pretensions—it does not overrate the present in the light of the past, the fact in the light of the ideal—nor does it entirely ignore the value of inward facts as an illuminator of outward action. It does not go deeply into the delicate phases of the woman's life, but it is marked by an extraordinary quickness of observation, a sanity of judgment, and a vivid and sympathetic imagination—qualities which are essential to the proper understanding of alien races.

The difficulties of such a task are obvious, and the author shows himself fully conscious of them. In a vast Empire with a population of over three hundred millions, in area a continent like Europe minus Russia, with thirty five main languages and over one hundred different dialects, with different religions and cultures, divided from each other by centuries of progress, anything like an adequate account of Indian womanhood is a task beyond the power of a single man. To add to this there are difficulties arising from the vast social and economic complexities of modern times which have not failed to affect Indian life, together with alien modern ideas influencing the more or less fluid conditions of great masses of people with divergent levels of culture and inconsistent ideals.

"The book of Indian womanhood," our author rightly remarks, "has many pages, and each page is different, one from the other. Living in a wide continent, the speech of one group of women is not the speech of another. And in fact they are not one, nor in blood nor habit." The author has therefore wisely restricted himself to a series of more or less descriptive sketches, drawn from personal study and observation. For

even if we do not view the Indian woman amid the glamour of poetic and romantic associations and divest her of the enveloping facts of history, tradition or environment she remains a figure sufficiently remarkable for the ideal of Indian womanhood, though lofty and selfless, is yet perfectly human and akin to the nature of womankind. In the midst of the perplexing diversities of creed and caste of blood and race, there is a community of thought and feeling with regard to three things which in our author's opinion constitutes the essence of Indian womanhood, viz contentment with her own womanhood, faith in religion, and the natural hope of love. The Indian woman to whom sex is a necessary part of life and motherhood a pride and duty is frankly and thoroughly a woman beyond and above all else. This feeling lies at the root of her tender and true ideal of maidenhood, marriage, maternity and widowhood, and inspires the unremitting devotion and unfailing tenderness which is the Indian woman's greatest gift to the land. Our author deprecates the system of Indian marriage which in his opinion produces in general a very real, if colourless affection and a sense of destined consecration but not 'that joy in a free humanity which alone can invest marriage with the flaming beauty of love.' It is not our purpose here to defend the Indian institution which is perhaps as defective as any other system elsewhere. But it must not be forgotten that in marriage the Indian woman finds the fulfilment of her whole being, and function and her love and religion invest it with a solemn and sacramental charm which has its own redeeming features. If the worth of a nation's womanhood can be estimated by the completeness with which it fulfils the inspirations of love and its devotion Indian womanhood as our author himself admits need fear no comparison. The warmth and selflessness of this enduring love is strengthened and moulded from childhood to the day of death by the present reality of religion. In India as in many other lands the most essential part of the civilization is to be sought in its deep-rooted religious idea. Religion has not only been the teeming mother from whom sprang philosophy, literature, music, education and the fine arts but the Indian spirit itself can hardly be understood without a proper idea of its religious spirit. And it is this religious spirit which moulds the whole being of the Indian woman. In the words of our author 'her childhood is an adoration, marriage a sacrament, wifehood an obligation, in motherhood she finds at once sacrifice and worship, while life and death alike are a quest and a resignation.'

We have in the subsequent chapters of the work a delightful series of pen pictures of the ladies of the aristocracy of the middle classes and of the working and the aboriginal classes all marked by a wonderful quickness of perception and sober judgment. It may be pointed out, however, that the author's knowledge of the women of some races and tribes does not always seem to be adequate. The accounts of the women of Northern and Western India of the aboriginal tribes like the Bhils whose simple life is yet unspoiled by modern civilization are marvellously keen and true. His estimate of the commercial and imitative *Larsi* community on whom the cheap aping of European manners sits ill, is

unjust and harsh, as it is only a transient phase through which it is passing

Speaking of the lowest working classes the author remarks "They compare favourably with similar classes in other countries, and at the worst they shame the terrors of European slums, the brutal wife-kickers and procurers who lurk in the blind alleys of industrial life. Generally it may be said that the Hindu husband, even in this class, seldom descends to the grossness and cruelty so often found in the lower quarters of European cities, while the wife forms and maintains a higher standard of womanly conduct and devotion. An easier toleration marks their conjugal relations, and the Hindu character at its worst is commonly free from the extremer modes of brutality."

There is also an interesting chapter on the professional dancing girl and a fine chapter on woman's dress, written with great discernment and appreciation the Indian mantle gracefully draped over head and shoulders and falling in vertical folds to the feet and of the gaily stitched and neat little fitting bodice of the Hindu lady. Her head with its smooth hair decked with simple gold ornaments or fresh flowers, half covered by the silken veil is well poised and beautiful. She poses on it no twisted straws dyed in metallic colours, no fantastic covering, hung with pieces of dead bird.

In conclusion however, we feel bound to say that although the work under review evinces wonderful insight and sympathy, combined with great literary powers, in realising a vivid picture of Indian womanhood it is yet in its essence a study from the outside. There is indeed some attempt to understand the finer aspects of an Indian woman's life, her delicate feelings and emotions her deep sense of duty and devotion, yet we look in vain in this work for an appreciation of her inmost life her modes of thought and being, such as we find in the glowing poetic pages of Sister Nivedita's work *The Web of Indian Life* (Longmans) which approaches the problem from the inside, interprets the Indian woman as only a woman can interpret and makes her stand out in her own familiar light.

THE CHARM OF KASHMIR By V C O'Connor (*Longmans Green and Co*) 1920 Price £4 4s net

(Received by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

Lovers of beautiful books are already indebted to Mr V C O'Connor for more than one finely illustrated book on the East, such as his

Mandalay and "The Silken East" this time he has surpassed himself by the production of a magnificent work on Kashmir. The beauty and fascination of this Himalayan valley unique in its situation and grandeur have attracted many writers and will continue in the future, just like other beautiful spots in the world—e.g., Italy and Switzerland—to provide the subject matter of successive publications. Where else in the world can be found a valley eighty four miles long, at an altitude of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, flat enough to provide a large population with great stretches of arable land and grazing grounds, and a soil of

such fertility that all the fruits of the earth can be grown in abundance? As Mr O Connor says ' It is the secret of the charm of Kashmir that it combines these homely and pastoral scenes, that might be taken from an English valley, with a landscape that dazzles the eye with its majesty and fills the mind with its records of a splendid past. European travellers from the days of Bernier in the seveneenth century have described the charm of its iris fields and blossoming orchards scholars like Sir Aurel Stein have told the long story of its ancient history for Kashmir has produced a chronicle that is unique in Sanskrit literature and its history arouses interest not only by the crowded story of its own secluded life but by its connection with the Mughal emperors and their successors after the valley had been drawn into the general current of Indian history Like Italy its fatal gift of beauty has led to its enslavement by foreign rulers and to the Mughal conquerors are due those romantic gardens and palaces that border the Dal Lake of which Mr O Connor gives a charming description running through several chapters Mr Abinindro Nath Tagore has embodied in his pictures some of the poetical associations that belong to the brilliant period of Mughal court life when Jahangir and Shah Jahan paid protracted visits to the valley five of these paintings are included among the coloured plates in this book Two of the other coloured illustrations are the work of Mrs L Sultan Ahmad, a talented artist the wife of a high official in the Gwalior State Of the rest half are by the late Colonel G Strahan who, if he had not been the head of a department of the Indian Government might have won for himself a great name as a landscape painter his pictures capture the serene sunlight of Himalayan valleys and the sweep of the landscape away to the distant snowy peaks with a power of sympathetic interpretation which no other English artist has brought to them Miss G Hadenfeldt's four paintings give charming examples of types of the present-day Kashmiri, full of a delicate characterisation and lively colouring

In a sumptuous work of this kind one's attention is naturally first attracted to the illustrations especially as they are such successful examples of colour reproduction But Mr O Connor's text has likewise a charm of its own, it is a traveller's narrative of wanderings through the winding valley and its surrounding mountains which he describes with the fine insight of an artist and the enthusiasm of an ardent lover of nature in language which at times takes on an almost lyrical quality He makes no attempt to rival the detailed account of the country given by an administrator such as Sir Walter Lawrence or even the less formal descriptions of Sir Francis Younghusband there are no statistics (perhaps an Accountant General on a holiday is only too glad to be quit of them) and even very little history except when some ancient building forces its historical associations on the notice of the visitor but the author carries with him everywhere a strong human interest and records his talks with the peasantry whom he meets on meadow or mountain His human sympathies reveal themselves also in many of his photographs which are particularly fine To all lovers of Kashmir this beautiful volume will recall delightful memories and will be sure of a welcome from those also who have only the opportunity of viewing it through Mr O Connor's eyes

My RECOLLECTIONS OF BOMBAY, 1860-1875 By Sir D E Wacha  
 (Published by K. T. Anklesaria, General Manager, The India News  
 paper Co., Ltd) 1920

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

These reminiscences of the veteran Knight, Sir Dinshah Wacha, are well worthy of careful perusal and will afford deep personal pleasure to readers who know and love Bombay the Beautiful, as it was and is, and will provide valuable material for the Bombay historian of the future.

Dinshah Wacha remembers how he was patted on the back as a school boy by Lady Canning, the wife of the great ' Clemency Viceroy and praised for his reading and recitation and amongst his earliest recollections were the visit to Bombay (1) of Lord Strathnairn and Jhansi (Sir Hugh Rose), then Commander in Chief in India (2) of H H the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh on his way to Lahore to perform the religious ceremonies in connection with the death of his mother the widow of the great Ranjeet Singh ' the Lion of the Punjab and (3) of Dr Livingstone who lectured in Bombay on his way home from his missionary travels and explorations in Africa. Dinshah's early life was passed in the golden days of Sir Bartle Frere Sir Alexander Grant Rustomji Jamsetji (son of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, the first Bombay Baronet) Juglonath Sunkersett, Lumbhoy Hemabhooy Walter Cassels and the first Aile of the City—Arthur Crawford.

Bombay is certainly a city of "magnificent changes"—rapid changes (just as Madras is of "magnificent distances")—and Sir Dinshah has done well and performed a public service of no mean magnitude in presenting the present generation with these vivid pen pictures of what Bombay was like in early times, and how her citizens bore themselves during the days of her formation and translation.

It is indeed, to be regretted that in the laying out and building up of the modern city more care was not taken to preserve at any rate some of the picturesque historical and architectural landmarks of the past such as for instance one or two of the gates of the Ancient Town or part of the ramparts of the old Fort on which the inhabitant used to enjoy "high jinks and the sea breezes in the days of long ago. Time however rolls its ceaseless course and as the Russian poet sings, sweeps away kingdoms and their kings but meantime the writer of this brief review would like to support Sir Stanley Reed's plea for the conservation of the old historical Bombay Castle and old Secretariat. Sir Dinshah has described vividly and well how the foundations of Bombay were laid by broad minded men like Aungier Flinthorne and Bartle Frere and acknowledges the debt the city owes to great thinkers like Macintosh and Robert Knight, and to great missionaries like Murray Mitchell, and Fraser and educationists like Wilson Wordsworth and Grant.

From the lists of names of men and firms which Dinshah Wacha gives it would almost appear as if Bombay had been in the main developed by Scotsmen aided by the Parsis—the Scots of India. But the Hindus were not backward. They followed the lead of the Scots and the Parsis, and

the Borahs (led by the Tayabjis), and the rich Arabs, Moguls, and Bagdad Jews (guided by the Sassoons) soon joined in the development. The principal Parsi social reformers were the Kamas, who befriended Dadabhai Naoroji, who began his academic career under Professor Paton, a Scot, and Principal Dr. John Harkness, and Sir Alexander Grant. "Many have been the Scotsmen who have been the educators of Indian youths in this and other Presidencies," writes Sir Dinshah and he adds "Not only Bombay, but all India is proud of its Scottish merchants who were pioneers of commerce. He then goes on to show what Bombay owes to the Chamber of Commerce of the fifties, mainly composed of Scotsmen belonging to such well known firms as Graham and Co., Ritchie Stuart, and Co., Finlay Scott, and Co., Peel Cassels and Co., Grey and Co., etc.

Amongst other old and venerated names, Sir Dinshah mentions with due appreciation and affection those of Dr. Buist and Sir George Birdwood with his deep and abiding sympathy for India and his warm love for the Indian people. "Where, he asks, are men of the type of Buist and George Birdwood?" Echo answers, Where? And where he might well ask are men like the earliest governors of Bombay he knew—Lord Auckland, Lord Elphinstone and Sir Bartle Frere! and the legal luminaries of the fifties and sixties like Sir Michael Westrop who a few hours before he retired gave judgment in the notorious Last India Bank case heard fully five years before!

In concluding his interesting work Sir Dinshah expresses his obligations to Mr. Edwardes C. S., the editor of the latest volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* whose literature merits need no praise and to "the most valuable paper left by the erudite Sir James Campbell and to the Book of Bombay published by the facetious and picturesque Mr. James Douglas. Finally he offers his most grateful thanks to Sir Stanley Reed for the admirable Foreword in which he commends these reminiscences to the attention of the rising generation.

### THE LIFE OF A BRAHMAN

THE RITE OF THE TWICE BORN. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., Sc.D. (Dublin) of the Irish Mission in Gujarat with a Foreword by Professor A. A. Macdonell (Oxford University Press) 21s. net

*Reviewed by H. I. A. COITON, C.I.E.*

This important volume in the Religious Quest of India series is the work of an accomplished lady who with her husband is held in the highest esteem in Western India. They are Christian missionaries, but they are also assiduous students of Hindu life and manners. It is evident from the wealth of material in these pages that Mrs. Stevenson has succeeded in gaining the complete confidence of the Brahmins in Gujarat, a part of India in which, as Professor Macdonell says, old traditions have been particularly well preserved. The result is a comprehensive and trustworthy exposition of the life of the highest caste among Hindus, not only compiled with understanding and sympathetic insight, but checked also by reference

to those who themselves practise the rites and ceremonies which she describes. Of the value of such a synopsis there can be no question. Here is a caste which committed its ritual rules to writing in the Sanskrit Sūtra literature more than two thousand years ago, and which has adhered to them as there formulated with comparatively little modification down to the present time. We realize as we read with the utmost vividness how completely the daily life of the Hindu from his cradle to his grave is permeated with religious practices.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the epochs in a Brahman's life—his birth, his investiture with the sacred thread (whereby he is admitted to the ranks of the Dvija or "twice born") his betrothal, his marriage, and his death. A full account is also given of the rites performed in infancy, the ceremonies which emphasize the importance of sonship, the offerings made to the dead, the widow's lot, the punishments allotted in future existences for sins committed in this life. The second part is concerned with the ritual of the Brahman's day and with the ceremonies appropriate to various times and seasons. Due attention is likewise paid to the observances associated with the building of houses, the digging of wells and pilgrimages to sacred hills and rivers. In the third and last part the worship of the gods Vishnu and Siva is described together with the ceremonies performed in their temples and the practices of ascetics.

It is impossible to study these closely packed pages without being struck by the systematic manner in which the Brahmins assimilated the creeds of their opponents and grafted them upon their own. Innumerable traces are apparent of primitive usages and superstitions. The doctrine of karma also affords ample food for reflection. Does it solve the riddle of life? If we accept it we must believe that a widow is *upasati* a woman who has committed adultery in a previous existence, that a man before he can obtain final release must be born eight million four hundred thousand times, that a sweeper is by his very birth a convicted felon who is suffering contempt and degradation for the crime of murdering a Brahman. But as Mrs. Stevenson says, how can a man or a woman assent to the justice of a punishment when he does not know what is the crime which occasions it or in which of his supposed past lives he may have committed it? For no clue to the first evil deed is ever discoverable—in the words of Sankaracharya himself it is an endless chain of blind men leading other blind men. In a final chapter Mrs. Stevenson discusses how far Christianity is able to make a successful appeal to the members of a religious system such as this. The argument is admirable but one is left with the feeling that as far as the Brahman is concerned the appeal must fail. Hedged about as he is with ceremonies and rites which would render existence insupportable to an Englishman he has his compensations. Is he not assured upon the authority of Manu that upon coming into existence a Brahman is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, and that, whatever exists in the world, the Brahman, by virtue of the excellence of his origin is entitled to it all?

TOOEE AND TURBAN, OR HERE AND THERE IN INDIA By Lieut Colonel H A Newell I.A., F.R.C.S. (*John Lane*) 21s.  
 (Reviewed by MRS CLAIRE SCOTT)

This very interesting work was published early in the New Year. The author is widely known by reason of his celebrated series of guide books to places of note in India. In 'Topee and Turban' Colonel Newell leaves the beaten track and takes the reader into regions unfamiliar to the tourist. He introduces him to the real India that mysterious India of sharp contrasts, diverse influences, clashing ambitions and conflicting views. As he himself says in a brief Foreword 'In the crowded city these diverse influences are so compressed and condensed that like the many ingredients of a Christmas pudding they are apt to be swallowed indiscriminately as a whole. Only in the greater liberty, more ample leisure and wider horizon of the countryside have they space to expand and assert their several individualities. But in the open under the vast blue dome of the sky, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Muhammadan reveal their spiritual significance in temple, stupa, rock cut figure, and mouldering mosque weather worn and possibly ruined but not built over nor yet obliterated. Each testifies to a distinct period the vital forces of which are still alive and active.' Colonel Newell writes clearly and vividly. Instinctively one feels that what he writes is true and not a narrative coloured for the benefit of a credulous public. Everyone interested in India will do well to read his latest book. The text is illustrated with fifty-nine photographs. Those of the State of Mysore have been contributed by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore and are a valuable addition to Colonel Newell's work which by the way includes an index and a glossary.

#### LAST

MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA By Harold M. Vinacke Associate Professor of Political Science in Miami University (*Princeton University Press* London *Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press*)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

The American universities have recently been specializing with great success in 'made up' dishes upon China. First Dr Paul Clements of the Columbia University worked out an admirable study of the Boxer Rebellion (examined in the October 1916 number of this Review) then the same University edits an excellent work on the Foreign Trade of China by Mr Chong Su-see (reviewed in the number for April 1920) a rival work by Mr Sih gung Cheng (Oxford Clarendon Press) was noticed at the same time. Now we have a much wanted summary of the latest political developments in China—at least up to the beginning of 1920—and right well has the work been done. The labours of Wells Williams, Morse Jernigan, Arthur Smith (all Americans), Colquhoun, Bland and Backhouse (Britishers) and the compilers of the *China Year Book* (1912 and 1916) and *China Mission Year Book* have all been judiciously drawn.

upon, but the author tells us that most of the chapters "have been written from the study of the documents, and from knowledge of the situation gained during residence in China—in what capacity and for how long we are not informed, nor what documents. Unfortunately there is no trace whatever of an index which, however scant would have been useful in comparing statements of fact, instead of an index there is a mysterious "Appendix One, referring back to nothing in particular, but no doubt intended to illustrate the matter of Chapters III and IV, explaining what the Manchus *would* have done had the revolution of 1911 not interrupted their proceedings possibly there were Appendices Two Three etc. to follow but for some reason it was resolved to leave them out? In later American works there seems to be a tendency to soften to the ear of the British lamb the harsh wind of Yankee spelling thus we hail with delight the two 7's in travelled (p. 42), though *favor* *endeavor* *neighbor* *labor*, and *center* are mercilessly indulged in throughout. There is one horrible locution on page 20 doing every thin, in their power to help meet the new burdens this cacophonous novelty may possibly have been imported even into English literature by Lord Northcliffe during his prolonged stay in the States, for during the past three years it has been of frequent occurrence in *The Times*—other less distinguished papers timidly following suit. Owing to Mr Vincke having borrowed from so many original authorities, his spelling of Chinese proper names is apt to be irregular and he gets a little confusing occasionally in describing the various councils, compacts associations, parliaments conferences, and so on. Whatever his experience in China, it is not likely to have included a knowledge of the official nomenclature for Viceroy Governor Tutuli and such titles are used out of their proper places whilst *Tuchun* (the *tuh koo*) never occurs at all. In the event of a second edition being brought out the writer will be pleased to place a list of these numerous *anachronies* at the publishers disposal they are however of little importance to the general public, who may securely accept the book as being quite authoritative and safe besides being extremely readable interesting and quite free from snappish political gibes against this or that nationality. Of downright misprints the following may be cited attendants, p. 21 hierarchy, p. 91 formidable p. 94 privileges p. 178 consensus p. 197. The author thus has the gratification of knowing that his book has really been read through to the end.

#### GENERAL

FROM THE UNCONSCIOUS TO THE CONSCIOUS By Dr Gustave Geley  
Translated from the French (Messrs. Collins) 1920 17s 6d

(Reviewed by S. DE BRATH formerly Assistant Secretary P.W.D.  
Government of India)

Concurrently with the political awakening of India, arising from the influence of Western thought, there has arisen a great, though silent,

movement in Britain from an appreciation of all that India has to teach us. This leaven is necessarily below the surface, but is none the less powerful—perhaps in the long run will prove more powerful—by arousing that sympathy which if it could be sufficiently widespread would bring about a concord which might avert many disasters.

The wide circulation of Fitzgerald's version of the *Quatrains of Omar* "the influence of Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*" especially those relating to India and the numerous small publications by the Theosophical Society and others on the Vedanta and other Oriental philosophies are sufficient proof of the existence of such leaven not to speak of the works issued from the University Press. The sermons of the late Archdeacon Wilberforce are but one instance how that leaven has affected Christian theological teaching, and on the philosophic side since Schopenhauer's magnificent work on *The World as Will and Representation* largely derived from the *Upanishads* Oriental ideas have been steadily gaining ground among thoughtful Europeans.

There has now appeared a volume written from the purely scientific point of view which illustrate the fact in a most remarkable manner. India never has been and never will be materialistic. Brahminism and Mahommedanism are both religion of the Intuition. Students of the former are perhaps too prone by the Western attitude of analysis to emphasize the divergencies of different schools and to ignore the fundamental unity in metaphysical idea which underlies them all and expresses itself in almost identical observances over an area almost as wide as Europe. As India never deludes herself with the notion that any verbal definitions can be absolute truth religious and philosophical differences do not divide Hindus as they divide Christians though it was inevitable that a religion founded in metaphysics should have many lower forms. Such difficult concepts as Sat, Chit and Anand—pure immaterial Existence, Intelligence apprehending all phenomena and pure Joy of Life arising from undeviating spiritual evolution—are incomprehensible to the many and representation inappropriate to the stage of development of the crowd inevitably took the place of a doctrine far above their comprehension. The simple formulæ of Islam replacing a metaphysical monotheism and a practical polytheism often of the grossest kind owe their influence to the power of the single idea of a Divine Ruler who inscrutably orders the destinies of men and nation. But the same concept lies at the root of both religions—the endless procession of the Universe from pure Spirit.

In the West this idea taught as dogma has partially lost its force and the great interest manifest at the present time in psychic phenomena is a reaction from a prevalent mechanistic view of the universe that has barely touched the surface of Indian life. These phenomena are now being studied as objective facts and the truly remarkable effect of such studies is not only the verification of the soul (which India has never doubted) but the emergence of the Indian idea of the Self as fundamentally distinct from the Person that is merely the manifestation of the Self under the limitations of Matter Time and Space. The permanence of the Self and

the evanescence of the personality *as we know it*, are almost necessary inferences

Dr Geley is no occultist. He puts aside as foreign to his method all theological, metaphysical, and spiritistic arguments, and starts from purely physiological and psychological facts, both normal and supernormal, and he deduces as an irresistible conclusion that Matter does not originate Mind but is directed by it, in short, that Matter is "ideoplastic," moulded by antecedent Idea. From these data, which include both the normal facts of evolution and the supernormal facts of materialization, hypnotic memory (cryptomnesia), alterations of personality, lucidity and kindred phenomena (for each of which he adduces irrefragable instances) he is led to explain evolution is due primarily to a universal dynamo psychism that is practically Energy directed by Universal Mind 'Adaptation' and 'Selection' being secondary factors through which that Mind works. He regards the Self as an individualized portion of this dynamo psychism, linked by its essential nature and its affinities to its Source. It follows by a strict logical sequence that Evolution is a process of developing Consciousness rather than of the increasing complexity that is the machinery of consciousness. And as the Person is but the representation of the Self under the limitations of heredity and environment expressed by race, education and climate etc., it follows that the surviving Self freed from the limitations by which experiences are transformed into faculties must pass through a vast series of such experiences in its progress from unconsciousness to full consciousness.

The Oriental parallelism is obvious. The conclusions are derived from recognized (though supernormal) facts by a purely scientific method of synthesis and yet the end of all is the idea of corporeal existence which is at the base of Brahmanic and Muslim and Christian philosophy which was expressed by Akbar the greatest of the Emperors of India. Said Jesus on whom be peace "This world is a bridge pass over it but build no habitation thereon. Who hopes for an hour hopes for eternity. Heresy to the heretic and orthodoxy to the orthodox but only the dust of the rose petal remains to those that have sold its perfume. The rest is unknown."

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THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY January, 1911 15s net.

This issue contains an important article by M. Longworth Dames on The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century. The author points out that although M. Cordier has given a vivid sketch of the events accompanying the first establishment of Portuguese power in Eastern seas these events required to be further set forth. He describes how Portugal, single handed struggled against the greatest military power in those regions, and reminds us that though she had laboured, others were to enter into her labours.

## NEW PERIODICAL

A NEW publication made its appearance on March 1, entitled *The Persia Magazine* (East and West, Ltd., quarterly, 2s 6d net), which, in the words of a notice in *The Times Literary Supplement*, "is highly desirable in the present uncertainty as to the future of our relations with Persia. It contains the proceedings of the Persia Society, which include in the first issue, 'War and Post War Developments in the Persian Gulf,' by G. A. Walpole, O.B.E., and 'Some Opinions on Persia and the Persians' by Capt. J. H. Grove White, M.V.S. A Literary Supplement is provided with a notice by Sir Thomas Arnold C.I.E., of the Persian Tales recently issued in translated form by Macmillan and Co. There is also a Foreword by Lord Lamington C.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in which he writes

The days of secret diplomacy are not yet over, and I think most of us find extraordinary difficulty in getting news of what is taking place abroad

Persia was the centre of ancient Oriental civilization and this fact alone affords absorbing interest in everything connected with that country, in addition to the importance that her future must have on the fortunes of our Indian Empire. It is for the purpose of stimulating interest, sympathy, and understanding between Persia and this country that our Society exists, and I trust that this little magazine will help in this direction

We have received the latest issue of the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*. This contains a lecture on the Federation of the Central Asian States under the Kabul Government by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. The discussion on this lecture proved very instructive. The lecturer pleaded for a Central Asian Alliance against the common enemy, Bolshevism. Turning to past history he stated

That Russia had always aimed at the destruction of Islam is demonstrated amongst other things by a letter which General Kaufman dispatched to his Government through Count Schouvaloff the Russian Minister in London in 1875. It pretended to set forth that the mission of Russia in the East was a civilizing one and that the true enemy of the Western nations was Islam. It suggested that Afghanistan and the Central Asian States generally should be divided into Russian and British spheres of influence. Kaufman was perfectly correct in his statement that Russia had a dangerous foe in Islam, and not without reason for the entire Mohammedan world fiercely resented the constant aggression of the Muscovite upon its boundaries.

In the course of the discussion, however, a somewhat different note was struck by Mr W. E. D. Allen, who said

I only speak with some diffidence, as I have never been in Central Asia, but I happen to have read one of Ikbal Ali Shah's articles. I referred it to a member of the South Russian Government and asked his opinion on it. I think we are more or less under moral obligations to Russia because of the service she rendered us at the beginning of the war. He expressed the personal opinion that the South Russian Government, as representing Russia, would certainly not favour any movement in Central Asia and he seemed to be of the opinion that they would rather have Russia there in any form than that the Russians should be expelled."

Colonel A. C. Yate, Hon. Secretary, stated that as far as he was aware no Afghan had ever before lectured to a London audience

"We have heard his political opinions and I have said to him myself that I shall follow his career with the very greatest interest. We know he is a friend of Britain, and I trust he will produce that good feeling between Afghanistan and Britain which will result both in the development of Afghanistan and the stability of the British Empire in the Middle East."

The March issue of *United Empire* contains a rather startling paragraph in its editorial notes and comments on Indian migration, which will probably lead to some discussion in view of the opinion there expressed

"It must be admitted that, taken in the mass the Indian settler in the Dominions is too often not a social acquisition. He lives on next to nothing, and he sends his savings out of the country. There is no antipathy against the cultured Indian who has acquired Western ways. If he were not handicapped by the low standard of the majority of his compatriots he would live down colour prejudices and be given an honourable status. Hence a future solution of this problem would seem to be in the direction more of supervision over the class of Indians who are permitted to migrate to the Dominions, a supervision applied to all white races to day, than in seeking to remove all restrictions.

The question of Indian migration will be largely discussed in the next issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*

Writing in a recent issue of the *Venturer* on 'Asiatics in the Assembly of the League of Nations,' Mr. Warren Postbridge declares

"There remain the Asiatics China, India, Japan—the three between them accounting for half the world's population—Siam and Persia. The Orient, said Prince Ranjitsinhji at Geneva has much to contribute to the League. Who can question it? But the East will get from the League in as full measure as she gives. Her most active and far ranging minds could set themselves no higher task than to work out the right basis for that mutually beneficent relationship.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

'An Aid to Practical Written Arabic' by John van Ess (Milford), 'A Peep into the Early History of India,' by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (Tara porevala) 'The Message of Christ' by A. S. Wadia (Dent) 'An Historical Geography of the British Dependencies' Vol. VII India by P. E. Roberts (Clarendon Press) 'Around the Shores of Asia,' by Mary A. Poynter (Allen and Unwin) 'The Economy of Life,' by J. Edmeston Barner (Universal Publishing Co.) 'London through Chinese Eyes' by M. I. Iyan (Allen and Unwin) 'A Dweller in Mesopotamia' by Donald Maxwell (John Lane) 'Leone' by K. Gauba (Heath Cranton) 'The Pioneers of Progress' Sir Robert G. Sandman, by A. L. P. Tucker (S. P. C. K.) 'The Trade and Administration of China,' by H. B. Morse (Longmans, Green), 'Sadhu Sundar Singh' by Mrs. A. Parker (C. L. S.), 'Labour in Madras,' by B. P. Wadia (Ganesan), 'The Man and His Work' Josiah C. Wedgwood (Ganesan) 'My Orient Pearl' by Charles Colton, 7s 6d net (Lane)

## NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHARD

## I—EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

ARE having a worldwide repercussion. While Governments confer, peoples are perishing.

A correspondent writes a letter of jubilation concerning the assassination of Talaat Pasha. One must point out that wrong is not obliterated by the perpetration of further wrong. Under happier auspices Talaat might have been a better man. I met him first at Constantinople early in 1910 as Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior and succeeded in inducing him to forgo the execution of some sixty Albanian villagers who had incurred his wrath. May this act of clemency stand to his credit in balancing accounts against him, for it is asserted that Talaat was the instigator of a whole series of atrocities through which thousands of Armenians lost their lives in misery and torture.

The Foreign Office in a letter of February 11 and addressed to the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's Fund) showed the urgent need for generous help. A similar letter was addressed to the Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund Hon Sec., Miss E. J. Robinson, 35A Elsham Road, London W.

## II—ONE THOUSAND GREEK REFUGEES DIE IN 35 DAYS

The American Red Cross in Paris have received a telegram dated March 21, stating that conditions in the refugee camps at Salonika are becoming critical. There have been 1,000 deaths in 35 days, half of which are children under three years of age. Deaths are occurring at the rate of about fifty a day, mainly due to typhus, dysentery and influenza.

One camp has 2,500 sick. The refugees are Greek colonists from the Caucasus who were invited to take up land in Macedonia. Nothing, however, has been heard of the scheme since the fall of Venizelos.

## III—THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP DOROTHIOS,

the *locum tenens* of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate on the night of Friday March 18, at the Ritz Hotel, London, came as a shock to all concerned. He came to London in the dual capacity of spiritual and national head of Hellenism as the champion of the political rights of the Unredeemed Greeks, and to further an entente between the Eastern and Anglican Churches.

The Patriarch died a martyr to the cause of the Unredeemed Greeks, having left his bed on Tuesday to visit our Foreign Office, when much too ill to have done so. He was only sixty years of age and was the first Patriarch of Constantinople to visit the Western world. As Metropolitan of Brussa, he always associated the Armenian cause with that of the Greeks in his efforts for the liberation of Eastern Christendom.

His tragic death has aroused interest in the great Church of which he was the head.

'Sketches of Eastern Church Life,' <sup>2</sup> with a Foreword by the Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> By Euphrosyne Kephala (*The Fast Press* 22 Buckingham Street, W.C.2)

London, will be read with great pleasure by such persons, showing, as the Bishop says, how the simple life of Greece centres round its Church,

'And seeks to get every part of itself blessed and sanctified by the beloved old Church which has kept the national spirit alive during long centuries of Turkish misrule.'

Having been present at most of the ceremonies of the Greek Church in the Near East, I am in a position to state that the next best thing to personal participation is to read Miss Kephala's vivid and picturesque descriptions, the clearest and most informing with which I am acquainted in popular form

#### IV—GREECE TO FIGHT FOR PEACE

Just as we go to press, *The Times* (March 22) publishes, under the above heading "Constantine's appeal for the reinforcement of the troops, whose duty it is to impose peace. —*Reuter*

I was most favourably impressed by the personality of M. Kalogeropoulos the new Greek Premier. Belonging on both sides to leading Greek families who took an active part in the war for Greek independence, he inherits a spirit of patriotism and self sacrifice. He passed his law examinations in Paris with distinction, and was a brilliant orator and politician under Irikoupis the great pro British statesman. Thus M. Kalogeropoulos is not a *post war* ententophil, but from infancy upwards has been nurtured in a pro-entente atmosphere.

It is a thousand pities that such a man was compelled to be anti-Venizelist in his internal policy. For M. Kalogeropoulos himself, together with all the Greeks to a man, is bent upon carrying out the foreign policy of M. Venizelos to the minutest point—a striking testimony to the greatness of the statesmanship of that remarkable man. Thus, although for the time being M. Venizelos is out of power the Greek nation still looks upon him as its great leader and patriot, the one who represents that true Greek spirit which ever in the past has stood, and at this moment is still standing as the bulwark of freedom and humanitarianism in the Near and Middle East.

#### V—THE CRRFK LEADERS

Dr Platon Drakoules left London for Athens last December, when he spent some weeks in Paris and Rome, stating the Greek case for the non revision of the Treaty of Sèvres in personal interviews with French and Italian statesmen, and in the European press.

In Athens he is at present engaged in what might be termed the work of reconstruction for which his previous experiences have so admirably fitted him. Health education, industrial and labour reforms are urgently called for in Greece as in other countries since the war. When he last wrote he was endeavouring to secure a more adequate provision for the widows of Greek soldiers and officers.

Whether the outbreak of a new war will hasten his return to England or necessitate the extension of his mission to America, is for the moment undetermined.

## EXHIBITIONS OF ORIENTAL ART

TAKE SATO

A DAY or two ago I dropped into a little Show at the Burlington Gallery by a Japanese artist—Take Sato. At once I had passed into a land of colour and beauty.

In front of me was a Kentish farm. I wandered through it in sheer delight noting the young catkins gleaming gold against the pure violet haze and the fresh green of spring on the boughs, the birds, beasts, and humans meandering through the whole, and the fresh clear water. It is English beauty seen through Japanese eyes, and one revels in it, as in a fairy story.

There are pink sweet peas with a vibrating violet background, white tea roses against shimmering blue, violet tulips against vermillion, dahlias with brilliant yellow as contrast. Then a small quiet snow scene of Kensington Gardens, just a dream of loveliness. A moonlight with deep still green and deep still blue. Another with hoar frost and night violet trees.

There are peaceful scenes from Kent and bolder ones from Yorkshire, all giving the same touch of truth and beauty. One recognizes the counties and added charm in seeing them through the eyes of another nation. Pure vibrated colour runs through the whole Fxhibition. Pigments all used for their beautiful colours and thrown side by side to enhance their effect.

The artist has caught the peace and exquisite colour of English landscape on a sunny day either in spring, summer, autumn, or winter.

A W S G

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## THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEAR EAST

## I—THE MISSION OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA NOW IN LONDON

The Prime Minister as is known has summoned a representative group to place before him the point of view of the Mussulmans in India with regard to the Near Eastern question. They arrived in this country on March 9, and consisted of H H The Aga Khan, Mr M M Chotani (who is well known in India as a merchant prince and President of the Central Khalifa Committee), Mr Hassan Imam (x Judge of the Calcutta High Court), Dr Ansari (one of the mos prominent Indian Nationalist leaders and President of the All Indian Moslem League), and Mr Kedwai, who has been resident for some time in England. Kazi Abdul Ghaffar, an experienced journalist, is acting as secretary. H H The Aga Khan is staying at the Ritz Hotel, and the rest of the party are at the Kensington Palace Mansions Hotel. The party lost no time in paying a visit on March 11 to Mr Montagu, with whom they discussed the present situation.

in India, and the possible consequences if the demands put forward by the Indian Mussulmans were not properly considered

We are given to understand that the party was very well received by the Secretary of State, who promised to do all he could to bring the wish of the Mussulmans before the Premier and the Allied statesmen meeting in London

For the next day an interview was arranged with the Premier, who met the party at 10, Downing Street. Mr Bonar Law and Mr Montagu were also present. Mr Hassan Imam, as the spokesman of the party on this occasion, was asked to state the case but he could not finish his well reasoned statement because the time was too short, and the Premier had an appointment with the Turkish Delegation. However the Prime Minister promised to give them another opportunity of meeting him and in the meantime he asked them to prepare a memorandum. This memorandum is stating all the points and clauses in the Treaty of Sèvres which were held to be objectionable, and is being communicated to the Prime Minister

The demands of the party (so the Secretary of the Mission informs us) are the same as the demands of the body over whose Central Committee Mr M M Chotani presides. That body is the Khalifat Conference. Amongst its members and offici bearers are to be found Hindus Mussulmans, and Sikhs. Its demands he declares, divide themselves into two parts

- (1) Those relating to the Turks
- (2) Those relating to the Arabic speaking population of the Turkish Empire

Under part one fall the demands that all the lands with a Turkish majority—*i.e.*, Thrace Asia Minor including Smyrna—should remain under Turkish sovereignty, that within such territory no restrictions whether military, naval or financial shall be placed on Turkish sovereignty, that Turkey shall not be deprived of her capital, Constantinople

Under part two falls the demand that, subject to the religious suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey who is the supreme religious head of the Mussulmans of the world all the Arabic speaking lands of the Turkish Empire which include Syria, Palestine Mesopotamia and the rest of the Arabian peninsula shall be given complete independence any kind of mandate over this territory, which is considered as the sacred land of Islam, being unacceptable as opposed to Moslem faith.

Both these demands they declare they base on pledges given and principles proclaimed by Great Britain and her Allies during the war. If these demands are not conceded, they state, this would have a lamentable effect in India, and encourage boycott, thus increasing unemployment in this country

## II — THE GREEK POINT OF VIEW

The question of the pacification of the Near East has once more been raised with a view to modifying the Treaty of Sèvres. Without entering into details, I have attempted to set out the main lines of the problem from the Greek point of view.

The restoration of Smyrna the capital of Ionia and the birthplace of Greek civilization was necessary to effect the peaceful settlement of Greeks in Asia Minor. The modifications proposed for this zone will not provide the desired pacifications of the various elements, but will create problems still more complex than existed in Macedonia before the Balkan Wars.

With regard to the still unsettled question of the Dodecanese, islands exclusively inhabited by Greeks, and yet held at present by a Power prepared to hold them by force, it is enough to state that such action is a disgrace to our epoch, which has struggled so valiantly for the principle of nationality. M. Sforza, interrupting M. Kalogeropoulos the Prime Minister of Greece, is reported to have said that on this principle perhaps Greece would demand the restoration of Sicily. The answer is clear. Greece could substantiate her claim even to Sicily more easily than any other Power can justify a demand for the Dodecanese.

By the Treaty of Sèvres, Thrace was recognized as an integral part of Greece. This annexation was not merely a question of race although the majority of inhabitants are Greeks but because for geographical, economic and military reasons it is impossible to divide this country. The rights of minorities were assured. Now, however the suggestion has been made to create an autonomous state. Such a proposal is not only absurd but criminal, in that it will provide ground favourable for the sowing of future discord between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.

The nation most devoted to the idea of a free and independent Armenia is Greece. Her sympathy is real, based as it is on a mutual suffering. All Greeks were proud to see at the Iarlis Conference M. Venizelos the champion of the cause of Armenia. The creation of a free State in the Caucasus is a vital necessity for the civilized world to provide, as it were, a rampart against the inroad of barbarism.

Finally all Greek people of any balanced opinion consider that King Constantine by his obstinate attitude against the interests of his nation has done untold harm. He was in a position after the triumphant success of the Venizelist policy to have made recognition of his faults, and to have helped to reunite the nation he had divided. Instead of that he has continued to render much more profound the abyss into which he had pushed the nation. By his provocation of the Allies he has provided the pretext for the revision of the Treaty in spite of repeated warnings that a result would follow disadvantageous to a large portion of his people. The greater part of Hellenism remains unchanged in its devotion to M. Venizelos, and not only is not willing to recognise King Constantine as its representative but feels that so long as he is allowed to remain head of the State development is impossible.

The Great War was fought and won by men who were prepared to die for the peace of the world and the liberation of subject races. Greeks also made sacrifices to this end, relying upon the friendship of England to see that justice should be done to her claim for liberty. The Treaty of Sèvres recognized this and the Christian races who have suffered such bitter persecution in the past, felt that at last they would be able to live in peace as free men. That hope has been rudely shaken. The proposed modifications threaten to create more wars and worse horrors. Have, then all the suffering and sacrifices of these last terrible years been made in vain?

C. P. SIANOLDI,  
*Member of the Delegation of the Unredeemed Greeks*

### III.—THE ENTENTE POWERS AND ARMENIA

I need not add that His Majesty's Government are resolved that after the war there shall be a new era of liberty and redemption for this ancient people, *i.e.* the Armenians—(Mr. Asquith's Speech at the Guildhall, November 9, 1916.)

The pledges given to the Armenians by Mr. Asquith, by the Prime Minister and other responsible English statesmen are well known. At

various times and by different methods Armenians were encouraged by the British authorities to rise against their tyrannical Turkish taskmasters and so hamper Turkish military movements. The services rendered by Armenians on the various fronts have been acknowledged by Lord Allenby, General Dunsterville, also by French generals and Russian generals of the Czarist regime. These services have greatly facilitated our military task in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and elsewhere. When at certain moments we were hard pressed by the enemy, responsible British leaders did not hesitate to give definite pledges for the liberty and independence of Armenia, in such a way as to encourage Armenians to do their utmost in order to secure their liberty.

The solemn declarations made to this effect during the war cost the Armenians more than a million lives and all their accumulated wealth and property on both sides of the frontier. In response to these declarations Armenian volunteers hastened from the United States and all sides to fight on the side of the Entente. Many of these were only sons of widowed mothers who gladly laid down their promising young lives in the cause which they and we, had been led to believe was the cause of their own country.

Two years and four months after the Armistice we may surely be permitted to examine what measures, if any have been taken by British statesmen to give effect to the solemn pledges they made profusely during the war.

Since November, 1918, according to the best available computation more than 300,000 Armenians have been killed in cold blood or starved to death. More than 60,000 died or were massacred while our troops were still in the Caucasus.

None here grudges the assistance rendered by our Government to France. Our large cities have been adopting towns and villages in the devastated areas of France, while the French Government is providing milliards of francs for the rehabilitation of its territory. We helped Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their homes, to replenish their machinery and livestock yet none has suggested the adoption of an Armenian town by a wealthy English city. If this can be arranged, by degrees a small portion of the debt we have long owed to Armenia will be repaid.

In the last fortnight we have seen the occupation of German towns by Allied troops to exact the reparations demanded from Germany by the Entente Powers. When do the Great Powers mean to exact compensation for their smallest ally for the property stolen and wantonly destroyed by the Turks during the war? Devastation in Armenia is on a far worse and much more extensive scale than anywhere in Europe.

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